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INTERNATIONAL

PONOMAREV ATTACKS U.S., PRC NEOCOLONIALIST COURSE

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[Speech by Boris Ponomarev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, delivered on 20 Oct at the International Scientific Conference in East Berlin]

[Text] Esteemed conference participants, comrades: Allow me, first of all, to convey to you and to the leaderships of your parties fraternal greetings on behalf of the CPSU Central Committee and Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The organizers of this get-together--the SED Central Committee and the editorial staff of the journal PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM--have displayed a useful and very topical initiative. Mutual contacts and cooperation among the representatives of communist and workers parties and the various combat detachments of the National Liberation Movement are particularly important today. We paid great attention to the lucid and pithy speech delivered by Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee. We fully and completely share the assessment, given by him, of the significance of this conference and the problems we are about to discuss.

Of course, our delegation does not claim to be able to throw light on all the questions inherent in the various subjects that will be the topic of this conference. Neither do we claim to be able to provide exhaustive assessments and judgments on all the issues under discussion. We expect a detailed and copious exchange of opinions. It is, of course, of particular importance to hear what the direct participants, representatives of the National Liberation Movement, will have to say.

This conference takes place in a difficult international situation. The danger of war has again increased and imperialism is to be blamed for that. The forces of world reactionaries are trying to pass over to a counteroffensive and to recapture lost positions. This affects the destinies of many hundreds of millions of people in all the continents of the globe. It is understandable that that problem will constantly overshadow our conference.

You naturally know, comrades, that V. I. Lenin considered the National Liberation Movement to be an inalienable composite part of the worldwide revolutionary process.

The communists were the first to succeed in recognizing the tremendous revolutionary possibility inherent in the peoples who are under the yoke of imperialism, peoples who consistently defend their rights to independence and to autonomous development. The communists have always been, and continue to be, consistent fighters for the cause of the liberation of the peoples from imperialism; they are faithful allies of those forces that are trying to build a new and emancipated society.

The great socialist October revolution dealt a decisive blow against imperialism, both in its various centers, in the homelands, as well as in the colonial and semi-colonial periphery. This initiated the crisis of the colonial system.

The routing of the bloc of fascist and militarist countries in World War II radically changed the balance of forces in the world in favor of socialism and facilitated the struggle waged by the colonial peoples to break colonial domination. World socialism created favorable international conditions for the successful favorable international conditions for the successful outcome of the struggle to rout the colonial empires, thus colonialism entered a new phase of its general crisis.

It would be worthwhile to recall that in 1960, upon an initiative of the Soviet Union, the United Nations adopted the declaration on granting independence to the colonial countries and peoples. Now, looking on this initiative from the distance of two decades, we can recognize with particular clarity its historical significance. The initiative embodies in a concentrated form the meaning and the purpose of the policy pursued by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries with regard to the National Liberation Movement.

The workers class and the communist parties of the developed capitalist countries also made an important contribution to the liberation struggle of the peoples. For instance, the role played by the communist parties of France, Portugal, Italy, Great Britain, The Netherlands and other West European countries in lending support to the struggle of the peoples from colonial and semi-colonial countries is very well known.

The communists of many developing countries wage a self-sacrificial struggle to complete the anti-imperialist, antifeudal and democratic revolution, for a bright socialist future and to improve the standard of living of the people's masses. They are lending decisive support to the anti-imperialist moves undertaken by national governments, moves intended to strengthen and consolidate those governments' achievements; at the same time they are against antidemocratic measures, against restricting and hurting the interests of the working people and they oppose all moves that are contrary to the principles of national independence. The goals pursued by the communists are in keeping with the supreme interests of the nations and the people's masses. It is hence clear that the attempts of the reactionaries, hiding behind the flag of anticommunism, to split the national front in all places where it exists, isolate the communists, perpetrate persecutions and oppression against these men, can only weaken the forces of the national movement which confronts the reactionaries and the forces of imperialism.

Today the group of countries that have conquered their independence offers an impressive and varied picture. The processes taking place in this group exert enormous influence on the lives and destinies of dozens of nations which, taken

together, account for more than 30 percent of the globe's population. What is involved here is the emergence of state bodies, of national renaissance, the attainment of economic and cultural upsurge, in other words, the complete renewal of the entire way of life by uncovering all the valuable and special characteristics that have been created and accumulated in the past and that the colonial masters tried to suppress and destroy. For centuries on end they had been torturing and strangling the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, thus interrupting their development for long periods of time and, in some cases, even throwing back that development.

It is known, for example, that long before the arrival of the colonial masters, a specific and characteristic culture had been flourishing in Africa. However, the major part of these achievements were lost because of colonial enslavement, owing to exploitation and the export of dozens of millions of people as slaves, transporting them to other continents. Today the peoples of Africa are rediscovering their own historical assets.

Taken together, this is a huge new world of countries of most varied political, social and economic conditions, of varying levels of development, and of varying national peculiarities and cultural traditions. More than any other zone of the world it is extremely changeable and politically unstable. Yet there is something that unites and coheres the overwhelming majority of the countries of this group: anti-imperialism and the determination to do away with colonialism and neocolonialism, with racism and with all forms of national oppression, to erect a free and democratic society.

The countries with a socialist development play an outstanding and increasingly active role in this new world and in the comprehensive international relations. India, Nigeria and other countries of such a type represent a very weighty factor against the strategy of imperialism.

Today the active participation of the new states is of great importance to successfully solve worldwide problems, to reliably safeguard peace and security on our planet. That is why mutual understanding and cooperation in solidarity among these countries and all the other anti-imperialist forces of our times is of enormously great significance for the future of mankind.

1. The Results of the Liberation Struggle in the Seventies

Comrades, friends, essential changes have taken place in world politics in the seventies. These transformations were characterized by

- New changes in the correlation of forces internationally in favor of socialism and national liberation;
- Great successes of the policy of detente thanks to which it was possible to notably restrict the freedom of action of the most aggressive imperialist forces;
- An expansion of the anti-imperialist struggle thus including practically all the regions of the overall zone of national liberation in this struggle and also by enriching the contents of the struggle.

Taking advantage of the favorable international conditions the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America succeeded in achieving important successes.

Above all, the system of traditional colonialism was dealt another destructive blow. An end was put to the racist regime in Zimbabwe. The Portuguese colonial empire, the last one remaining, collapsed. The liberation struggle waged by the peoples of the South African republic and Namibia is gaining momentum. Today mankind is expecting the complete and utter elimination of colonial domination, that monstrous product of capitalism.

The victories of Vietnam and the patriotic forces of Laos and Kampuchea became events of tremendous importance. Assisted by world socialism they inflicted a defeat to the greatest power of modern imperialism, which had attempted to suppress the liberation struggle of the peoples of this part of the world by means of a broadly planned armed intervention. It is a historic victory!

Powerful blows were also dealt to imperialism by the people's revolutions in Ethiopia and Afghanistan, as well as by the victory of the people of Nicaragua. Once again it was proved that all attempts of imperialism are fruitless when it tries to maintain its domination with the help of dictatorships.

The revolution in Iran was a heavy defeat of imperialism. It demonstrated how unreliable it is to count on those neocolonialist regimes that are considered by imperialism to be its gendarmes. Naturally, religious factors play a large role in these events and introduce certain complications to development.

After having attained political independence many countries that had freed themselves tackled the solution of very complicated tasks connected with economic renewal. Certain successes have been obtained along this road. Yet, the situation of inequality of rights of the developing countries in the capitalist world economy still remains; an end has yet to be put to imperialist exploitation. The discrepancies between these countries and the imperialist powers, particularly with regard to many significant factors, have by no means diminished; on the contrary they have increased.

Confronted by the persistent endeavors of imperialism to maintain its economic privileges, many young national states take recourse to decisive measures: They nationalize the property of foreign companies. Such courageous steps contribute toward effectively safeguarding the sovereignty of the developing countries and establishing control over their natural resources. The frequent nationalization of the property of foreign monopolies has made a breach in the system of imperialist exploitation of former colonies and semi-colonies.

In the seventies the liquidation of the entire neocolonialist structure of exploitation was placed on the agenda. A number of international meetings and conferences formulated a platform of struggle for a new world economic system which was to be free of inequality and exploitation. The regional and international economic associations and organizations of the developing countries became an instrument of opposition against the exploitation policy of the monopolies. Strengthened unity, joint defense of economic interests and the assistance of the socialist states lend real power to the movement directed against economic neocolonialism.

The strengthening of the positions of the developing countries in their clash with imperialism is greatly helped by progressive transformation in those countries themselves: The consolidation of the national state formations, the creation of a basis for the national economies and the development of a national culture.

In characterizing the political course of the recently liberated countries L. I. Brezhnev used the following words: "In connection with most of these countries one can very definitely say that in their struggle against imperialism, they come out with increasing energy for their political and economic rights in order to consolidate their independence and raise the level of their peoples' social, economic and cultural development."

11. The Neocolonialist Course and Some Topical Problems of the Cooperation of the Anti-Imperialist Forces

Comrades, the multifaceted neocolonialist strategy of imperialism, and of U.S. imperialism above all, pursues several main goals:

- to retain the developing countries within the system of the capitalist world economy as dependent and tributary partners;
- to see to it that these countries remain dependent upon imperialist policy, taking positions that are contrary to those occupied by the countries of real socialism and the countries that have set out on a socialist path of development;
- to strangle these countries' free development and hamper their social progress by imposing the capitalist system upon them, even by forcefully maintaining archaic, semi-feudal, feudal and tribal structures.

During the seventies, at a time when imperialism was sustaining one defeat after the other, it was constantly trying to modernize its neocolonialist course. Recently, however, in the late seventies, on the eve of the eighties, it has been trying to mount a counteroffensive to offset earlier defeats.

Let us take the economy. In this field the so-called multinational corporations form the battering ram of modern neocolonialism. They are not particular about the means of controlling the economy of the newly liberated countries and make use of their industrial development to further their own interests. The international monopolies transfer on an increasing scope their labor-intensive production processes to these countries in order to thus exploit the cheap labor or they shift to the developing countries those production branches that are anti-environmental.

Thus the following new bourgeois scheme of international division of labor comes into being: The "progressive" imperialist countries will specialize in developing their scientific-technological potential and in the latest production branches and processes. In contrast, Asia, Africa and Latin America will be assigned the role of reservoirs for the labor-intensive and dirty industries. In other words, the imperialist centers are intended to "skim the cream" of the scientific-technical revolution. The "periphery" on the other hand is supposed to bear the expenses and suffer the bad consequences of this revolution.

In pursuing that course the industrial subsidiary companies of the international monopolies in the developing countries are being narrowly specialized so that they find themselves in a position of rigid technological dependence on the monopolist centers. Thus a new form of dependence comes into being, a sort of "technological neocolonialism."

Under the pressure of the exacerbating energy and raw-material crisis the course taken up by the capitalist world--a course of plundering the natural resources of other peoples--is becoming more and more cynical and shameless.

In international policy the U.S. imperialist circles, disregarding the lessons of Vietnam, again expound the concept of the alleged "leading role" of the United States, openly claiming for themselves the role of a world gendarme. What is more, on frequent occasions there are announcements about a return to the notorious policy of the "big stick."

Imperialism again tries to fan conflict centers and it provokes "hot" local wars. The Camp David policy caused a further exacerbation of the situation in the Middle East. Many regions in that area, especially southern Lebanon, have become permanent zones of military operations.

The history of the recent decades does not know a more unbridled libelous campaign than the one unleashed by Western and Beijing propaganda in connection with the Afghan events. In reality, this propaganda only serves to camouflage certain actions and plans such as:

- The launching of an "undeclared war" against Afghanistan;

- The formulation of pretensions of the United States, unparalleled in their brazenness, in declaring a region to be a sphere of its "vital interests" although it is thousands of kilometers away;

- The concentration of an entire armada of U.S. naval forces in this zone, forces that are being used for intervention and blackmail;

- The formation of a "rapid deployment force" as a corps of gendarmes, hiding behind the fairytale of a "Soviet threat";

- The Pentagon's chase after military bases on the Arab peninsula, in eastern Africa and in the area of the Mediterranean;

- The ruthless pressure on the new Iran and the subversive actions and even armed intervention against the new regime.

At the same time, Washington together with Beijing are hammering out various intrigues aiming at creating an active war conflagration in Southeast Asia.

In Latin America, U.S. imperialism is intensifying its ties with the oppressive regimes and stepping up its subversive activities against the patriotic democratic movement. Without the support of yankee imperialism the shameful terrorist regimes of Pinochet in Chile, Stroessner in Paraguay and Duvalier in Haiti would not exist.

The mass persecutions of leftist and democratic forces in Uruguay, the military coup in Bolivia against the legitimate constitutional regime, a regime elected by the people, would not have come about.

Today the United States intensifies its interference in El Salvador's internal affairs and is trying to bar the path to freedom for the Uruguayan people who have risen in combat against tyranny.

Thus, even in the beginning eighties, imperialism acts as a neocolonialist main force, as an enemy of the liberation movement of the people's of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

It is particularly noteworthy to mention how imperialism utilizes any conflict that arises between the new states in the zone of national liberation. It is true that there are contested political, economic and sometimes even territorial questions between some countries located in this zone of the world. In most cases such problems are a heritage from colonial times, a consequence of the policy pursued by imperialism of "divide and rule."

The effects of these arbitrary acts of the colonial masters have provoked certain difficult problems. These problems must and can be solved by applying political and diplomatic methods, through patient searchings for just, fair and mutually acceptable decisions. Yet, if one tackles the protection of one's own national interests of other nations and the common tasks inherent in the anti-imperialist struggle, situations will ensue that are then actively taken advantage of by imperialism, which does everything it can to prevent the cohesion of the countries that have liberated themselves.

Conflicts between the new states in the zone of the national liberation struggle, not to speak of military conflicts, are the best presents one can make to imperialism.

Today the Iran-Iraq conflict gives cause for the greatest anxiety. The Soviet stand on this conflict is known to all. L. I. Brezhnev explained it as follows: "We are in favor of having Iraq and Iran settle the contested questions between themselves at the negotiation table. It would be good if they would decide, in the spirit of accord, on what can be solved right away and postpone for tomorrow those questions that cannot be solved today as the solution could then possibly become easier.

"In general we are of the opinion that, on our times, war cannot and should not be a means of settling disputed problems between countries. This is even more applicable when we consider that a war is taking place in a sensitive place such as the Near and the Middle East."

At the same time the Soviet Union speaks out with determination against the attempts of imperialism to utilize the Iran-Iraq conflict to interfere in the affairs of the countries situated on the Persian Gulf. Yet the danger of such interference becomes increasingly real.

The fanning of militarist tensions on the part of the imperialists under the cover of cliches such as the "Soviet threat" in fact endangers many countries, including

those of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The fact becomes more and more obvious that attacks against detente affect the vital interests of the peoples that have liberated themselves and that the goal of such attacks is to organize the plunder of national resources and fan conflicts and internecine struggles. In other words, the policy of "counterdetente" and neocolonialist revanche are two things that are closely connected.

Let us now consider ideology. Here again imperialism intensifies its subversive activities that are inimical to the peoples. The efforts exerted by imperialism's center are extremely diversified and multifaceted. The quintessence of the ideological counteroffensive, however, lies in embattled anticommunism and anti-sovietism. This is the dominant aspect of all the ideological intrigues of imperialism, be it with the virtuous pharisaical declamations about protecting "human rights" or ending with the very real protection offered the perpetrators of genocide, assassins and hangers-on.

All these forms of neocolonialism, that have become so transparently obvious at the beginning of the eighties are objectively interconnected. To be able to oppose the forces of national and social progress and pursue further neocolonialist plundering and exploitation, imperialism strives to isolate these healthy national forces and separate them from the mighty anti-imperialist bulwark of the socialist community of peoples.

Comrades, friends, let us not overlook the fact that imperialism vests particular hopes in Beijing, in urging all forces to rally under the banner of a counteroffensive against the liberation movement. The defection of the Beijing leaders and their hegemonic course must be counted among the trumps of the imperialist policy of our times. It was precisely this alliance of Beijing's with the imperialists that installed new courage in those forces that are dissatisfied with detente.

Thus, when we speak of the main trends of the joint struggle of world socialism, the workers movement and the National Liberation Movement, we should not pass over in silence the opposition to the policy of hegemonism and chauvinism as pursued by the present leadership in Beijing.

The pseudorevolutionary, allegedly anticolonialist phrases with which Beijing camouflaged its defection to the camp of the enemies of socialism, have now been actually totally discarded. Irrespective of the zone of national liberation struggle in which it becomes active, we can observe everywhere Beijing's ignominious pro-imperialist line, whose actions are carefully coordinated with imperialism.

In the Near East Beijing supports al-Sadat's course of capitulation and tries to include other Arab countries in an agreement of the kind reached at Camp David.

Beijing is an active participant in the undeclared war of the United States, Pakistan and the reactionary circles of certain other countries against the Afghan people.

In Southeast Asia Chinese hegemonism mounts shameful attacks against the Vietnamese people and perpetrates subversive actions against other countries in Indochina. Beijing must be charged with the responsibility for having caused the sufferings of the people of Kampuchea.

In South Asia the center of tension along India's borders continues to exist. Intrigues that are hostile to India are being hatched in Pakistan, Bangladesh and Nepal to further the expansionist goals of Chinese great-power hegemonism.

In Africa one can observe Beijing's collaboration with imperialism in the struggle against the patriotic forces of Angola and other countries and its participation in subversive activities in the African National Liberation Movement.

In Latin America, Beijing's relations with the fascist junta in Chile and with other reactionary forces are becoming stronger. The Chinese hegemonists actively participate in the hostile instigations against socialist Cuba, activities that were initiated by American imperialism.

In alliance with imperialism Beijing's leaders urge the developing countries to form a "unity front" with them in order to combat the forces of socialism peacefully.

Particular mention must be made of the claims put forward by the People's Republic of China to its neighboring states. Based on statements by Chinese leaders and on all kinds of "historical" publications and maps, one will realize that the areas considered by Beijing as "lost" are almost larger than the entire territory of China proper.

The Beijing leadership is trying--by using China's relations with the individual communities of Chinese groups abroad, particularly with their bourgeois leaderships--to have a considerable portion of these countries' national revenue be diverted to China's benefit. According to available calculations China obtains 1 to 1.7 billion dollars per year from its commerce with the developing countries and these sums of money are then spent on paying for Chinese purchases which further the modernization of the Chinese people's republic's economic and armament potential; this money is pumped into the West.

China takes a particularly hostile attitude toward states in which profound socio-economic transformations are taking place, for example Angola, Afghanistan, Ethiopia and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.

Thus, Beijing's current policy is extremely dangerous for all those peoples that struggle for their national liberation and for social progress.

Enemies, friends, the intensification of the aggressive neocolonialist machinations and the exertion of all efforts on the part of the world's reactionaries against the liberation movement demand even more insistently that unity be reached among the various national liberation forces, the international workers class and the socialist community of countries in the world.

Practice itself daily demonstrates to us how wrong the concept is that, as the major goals of the national liberation have been attained, cooperation among these three major branches of worldwide progress loses its former importance. Things are presented in such a manner only by those who are not interested in national and social progress, who achieved their rise on the crest of the wave of the national liberation struggle but are now inclined to reach a compromise with imperialism, supporting the view that the time has now come to "sound retreat and gather up the banners."

Al-Sadatism is a perfect example of such an attitude, an attitude that embodies treason to the interests of the liberation struggle. Imperialism is everywhere trying to nurse small and big al-Sadats and consolidate their positions. In some places such attempts are successful and this is a direct consequence of either the demoralization of the class struggle in the newly liberated countries, or of bourgeois degeneration trends in various countries. The fundamental interests and longings of the peoples demand that such harmful tendencies be urgently overcome. There can be no doubt that forces can be found in the broad stream of the liberation struggle which can stop such harmful tendencies.

We, Soviet communists, are convinced that the development of the anti-imperialist movement was complicated and tortuous as it may be and although it may at times be accompanied by failures and withdrawals can be sure of its future if it keeps on marching unwaveringly in the firm columns of the revolutionary, peace-promoting and freedom-loving forces.

International associations such as the Organization of African Unity and similar organizations are of great importance to the joint advance of the peoples that are struggling against imperialism and neocolonialism.

The nonaligned movement has become a particularly influential factor in world politics. This was clearly demonstrated and proved in Havana at the summit conference of nonaligned countries in August 1979. The conference participants confirmed in their statements and concluding documents their determination to continue to maintain anti-imperialist positions and to struggle for the common cause of peace and the independence and security of the peoples.

The USSR and the countries of the socialist community ascribe great importance to the joint efforts exerted by the nonaligned states and they frankly strive to develop cooperation with those states. A broad objective basis exists for such strivings, namely common and mutual interests and identity or closeness of views on the main problems of worldwide development.

The interests of the peoples of nonaligned countries are objectively identical with the interests of all the forces of human society that stand against the aggressive designs of imperialism, for international detente, for peace and against unbridled rearmament.

On the other hand, as a result of the exploitation of natural resources, as a result of the appropriation of the products of the peoples' work by the monopolies, by imperialism and by the entire system of neocolonialism, the interests of the non-aligned countries are being greatly damaged.

Recently we have been witnessing intensified attempts on the part of the international reactionaries to water down the anti-imperialist orientation of the nonaligned movement, split the ranks of the participants in that movement and play them off against the socialist community and the other peace-loving progressive forces. The so-called concept of "equidistance" has become an instrument in furthering these attempts. Such "equidistance" is presented as a prerequisite for the nonaligned movement's playing an independent role. One should not forget the important role played by the cooperation of the new national states with the socialist countries.

in developing the nonaligned movement as an influential and independent international force. As regards the "equidistance" to the policy of peace and the policy of war, to the policy of freedom for the peoples and the policy of neocolonialism, this principle basically contradicts the historic goals of the nonaligned countries and hampers their increasingly stronger independent role in world policy.

What are the main trends in the cooperation of the developing countries with the countries of the socialist community, the international workers movement and the other progressive forces?

These main trends can be seen above all in the joint actions for consolidating peace and the security of peoples, for stopping or preventing imperialist aggression, against the attempts of neocolonialism to "replay history once again," in other words, to secure again a possibility of the unhindered exploitation of the newly liberated countries. Today the struggle for strengthening peace and for international detente is truly inseparably tied to the struggle against neocolonialism and racism, for consolidating the political independence of the young national states and for their economic emancipation.

The times are long past when the imperialists and the Beijing hegemonists could tempt the developing countries by putting forward the thesis that they are, allegedly, opposed to the cause of armament and that the arms race is, allegedly, no vital problem as far as they were concerned. Nowadays people in the developing countries are beginning to realize what colossal resources are taken away from them for the sake of the arms race. The imperialists in the United States, England and other countries extract billions of money from the former colonies and use these sums for the arms race.

What is involved here are both the resources which the developing countries themselves are spending for military purposes and those that they receive as foreign aid. According to available statistics the share of the developing countries in worldwide armament expenditures has increased from 4 to 15 percent in the course of the last two decades. Whereas in 1970 the direct armament expenditures of the developing countries amounted to about \$40 billion, in 1979 these expenditures increased to \$90 billion. Those countries that have become members of imperialist military-political blocks were the first to become subjects of militarization and armaments in amassing arms. Those countries that have been assigned the role of imperialist satellites are being literally flooded with imported arms.

As a matter of course, the intensification of international tension which follows from this course also obliges the peace-loving countries to deal with the concerns of their defense, and produce or purchase the necessary arms. The final result, however, is that huge amounts of money are wasted, money that is urgently needed to correct economic backwardness and eliminate hunger and misery.

The Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community have been persistently suggesting for a long time to put an end to the arms race and curtail military budgets in order to be able to set apart a portion of the thus freed amounts for the intensified support of the countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. At the most recent session of the UN General Assembly the Soviet Union declared its readiness to participate in an agreement on the amounts of money which each state would reduce its military budget would be prepared to earmark for such economic aid.

The course of international detente and disarmament is fully in keeping with the tasks of furthering development. This is precisely why the views of the socialist countries and the newly liberated countries on disarmament and, particularly, on nuclear disarmament have become so close. This similarity or closeness of views supports the constructive results of the UN General Assembly special session on disarmament and have found expression in the documents jointly adopted at many meetings and conferences.

Experience teaches us, though, that good resolutions alone cannot stop the machinations of the aggressive circles of imperialism and the military-industrial complexes standing behind them. What is needed is more active engagement of all forces, actions on the part of the broad masses of people, active cooperation of all the states that are interested in strengthening peace and disarmament!

The principles of equality, mutual advantage and anti-imperialist solidarity have been concretely applied in the practice of relations between the newly liberated countries and the socialist states. Today, when the newly liberated countries demand a radical transformation of international economic relations and the removal and elimination of certain elements of discrimination, dictate and exploitation, they can rely on this practice of relations of a new type.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries fully and completely support the anti-imperialist orientation of the charter regulating the economic rights and obligations of states as well as the declaration of setting up a new international economic system, documents that were developed and adopted by the United Nations in equal collaboration with all states.

Our party's 25th Congress referred to the elimination of discrimination, of various artificial hindrances in world trade, of all forms of unequal rights, of dictates and of exploitation as component parts of the program of the continuing struggle for peace and international cooperation, for the freedom and independence of all people. At the recently concluded special session of the UN General Assembly the socialist countries again actively supported the justified demands of the new states.

The direct economic aid rendered by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to further these new states' economic development is of great importance. The role played by this aid in creating the newly liberated countries' independent industrial potential is best demonstrated by the fact that today about 40 percent of the crude iron and 30 percent of the steel produced by the countries of Asia and Africa is manufactured in enterprises that were erected with soviet aid. National energy systems, metallurgy and engineering are industrial branches that were considerably promoted by the economic aid originating from socialist countries, within the framework of the state sector.

The support and experience of world socialism play a considerable role in working out the principles of national sovereignty over natural resources, the form and methods of exploiting natural resources, the development of science and the development of educational activities as well as in schooling national specialized labor. An important role is played by cooperation in health care and in cultural relations, a cooperation which contributes toward mutually enriching intellectual values and assets.

The mere existence and strengthening of the socialist system in the world considers only affects the sphere of economic relations between the newly liberated countries and the imperialist powers. Very frequently the latter are compelled to take into account the economic aid of the socialist countries and make certain concessions in planning their actions.

The progressive forces in the developing world are becoming increasingly aware of the fact that the transformation of international economic relations on democratic foundations mainly depends on how consistently they combat neo-colonialism, how effectively they control the imperialist monopolies and how efficiently they utilize the positive experience of the socialist countries in setting up an independent national economy.

It is well known that, in their desire to isolate the developing countries from world socialism, the imperialists and their Beijing assistants like to expatiate on the wrong concept of the "poor" nations of the south which confront the "rich" nations of the north. Counting the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community among those "rich" nations. This concept, which distorts a situation that has emerged in the course of history, includes the socialist states in the number of those that are to be blamed for the misery of the "south."

Our country does not dispute the correctness of the opinion that additional sums of money, that must come from abroad, are needed to finance the economic development programs of the former colonies. Yet, the payment of such outside sums must be viewed in the context of a needed indemnification that the former mother-countries owe the new states and also as a certain reparation for those losses that are inflicted on them today through the activities of the multinational corporations.

The cooperation between the socialist and the developing countries as well as the initiation of joint actions on the part of the working people in developing countries and the workers in the developed capitalist countries in the struggle against the common exploiter, the multinational corporations, can and must contribute toward fulfilling certain justified demands in restricting the mobility of international capital in economic relations with the developing world.

III. The Road to Socialism is a Guarantee for a Successful Struggle for National Benefit and Social Progress

Your struggle against imperialism and for political and economic independence is at the same time a struggle against the reactionary internal forces on which imperialism relies.

Today, when we speak of a zone of national liberation, we must realize that the countries of socialist development and the countries that have set out on the road of socialist construction stand in the front ranks of this struggle against imperialism. Among them are countries with different standards and levels of development and with differences in their maturity and in the nature of the goals that they and their leading vanguard have assigned to themselves in the respective stage of development. Yet, taken generally, this concerns those countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America who--subsequent to the victory of the anti-imperialist anti-feudal and democratic revolutions--have set out or are gradually setting out on the road of preparing the prerequisites for a transition to socialism.

In the course of the past decade the number of these countries has considerably increased. This is another proof of the fact that our era is one of mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism, a worldwide transition.

We all know that Lenin was the first to substantiate the possibility for individual countries to avoid the stage of capitalist development or, at least, shorten it. Lenin predicted that the struggle of the majority of mankind against colonial oppression, dependence and backwardness would directly lead to the struggle against capitalism and that in this struggle the nations that are lagging behind in their development would be enabled to rely on the support of the countries of victorious socialism. Practice itself has confirmed the correctness of these brilliant predictions.

Ever passing day the course of events confirms the conclusions formulated two decades ago by the CPSU program: "Capitalism is a thorny path for all peoples. It will fail to bring about rapid economic progress or the elimination of misery... Thus imperialism remains the main enemy and the main barrier on the path toward the solution of the national tasks confronting the young sovereign states and all dependent countries..." Practice has confirmed that the new states are choosing a road that differs from that of imperialism, that their present and future interests are objectively close to or even identical with the interests of victorious socialism. The socialist countries actively support the progressive revolutionary and democratic forces and movements that have chosen the socialist option, striving to implement socialism. It is here that the internationalist class characteristics of socialism's foreign policy find a concrete expression. Conversely, the countries with a socialist development rightfully see in the socialist community their closest and natural friend and ally for a common cause.

Today it is simply impossible to visualize the political and social image of the world without the large group of countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America that have oriented their course toward transforming society according to the principles of socialism. Imperialism is combatting the path of socialist development with great bitterness precisely because this path has proven to be of great vitality.

The existence of real socialism makes it possible for the countries with a socialist development to effectively oppose the policy of imperialist interference and aggression, utilize the historical experience that has been gathered in the course of building a new society and gain broad access to the scientific achievements of our times and to the latest technology.

Relations based on the commonness of goals, purposes and interests are emerging between the countries that have set out on the path of socialist development and the countries of the socialist community. These are relations characterized by solidarity and mutual assistance in mutually profitable cooperation.

On the other hand it is clear that favorable outside prerequisites in themselves will not suffice to automatically guarantee the success in the struggle for socialist ideals. This struggle demands persistent and undeviating efforts on the part of the broad masses of people and their political vanguard. The socialist system will be erected in the course of the decisive battle waged by the progressive forces of society, as a result of persistent creative labor by the people. Only that can make it possible to create a new type of social relations and a new type of man.

Naturally, the main thing is to have the situation of the countries with a socialist road of development constantly consolidated and stabilized. This is no easy task. Hand in hand with the forces of internal reaction, imperialism makes uninterrupted attempts to undermine the progressive regimes. These attempts are very dangerous. Let us just cite the example of Egypt and Somalia. Diversionist acts, plots, even overt interventions, speculation on economic difficulties and backwardness, fanning of national dissension and tribal friction is all used by imperialism in the struggle against the countries with socialist development.

Historical experience as a whole teaches us that the following factors are of great importance in maintaining and consolidating progressive regimes:

- to possess a revolutionary party which guides society and proceeds on the basis of scientific socialism;
- to strengthen the democratic organs of power from top to bottom;
- to school and bring up party and state cadres that are loyal to the working masses and the cause of socialism;
- to strengthen the national armed forces that are capable of defending the achievements of the people;
- constantly to expand the ties of the party and the state with the masses and include the working people in the administration of public matters;
- to pursue a correct economic and social policy, a policy which guarantees the strengthening of the country's independence, a rise in the level of production and improvements in the conditions of daily life;
- to develop relations and ties with the socialist countries, the most faithful and reliable friends of the independent and freedom-loving countries.

The realities of the development of countries with socialist development underscore the necessity to insure ideological and political guidance by the party, the revolutionary vanguard. The close unity of the party with the people plays a tremendous role. Practice teaches us that only that party can implement and complete the course of development, that stands in the midst of the people, being aware of their needs and hopes and knowing how to contact the masses and gain their complete confidence.

To consistently implement socialist development in practice, it is of course necessary to overcome the opposition of hostile social elements and the momentum of the antiquated way of life and solve all the national ethnic and religious problems within the framework of the democratic structures of the state. It is extremely important to win over the youth for all the state issues and for party-political work within the area and also to involve the youth in the work connected with social transformation.

The solution of all these complicated tasks and the creation of a new state apparatus demand the training of numerous qualified specialized personnel within a very

brief period of time. This task is by no means an easy one but it can certainly be solved particularly in view of the possibility of utilizing the experience and assistance of the USSR and other socialist fraternal countries.

Economic policy is an extremely important sphere of action of the vanguard parties. The complicated nature of this sphere consists of the fact that it is incumbent upon the parties to set up a new material-technical base and, at the same time, tackle the improvement of the living conditions of the working people. Under these circumstances the leadership of the countries with a socialist development sees an outcome in tackling the implementation of these tasks in a gradual manner, avoiding any artificial acceleration in social transformations. As matter of course, the problem of rationally using all internal sources of accumulation and the utilization of natural resources becomes of paramount importance. The setting up of cooperatives in agricultural and artisan production is of great importance, just as is the improvement in the activities of enterprises within the state sector. Experience gathered by many countries with socialist development shows that, provided there is effective state control, private enterprise can play a useful role, a role which it will evidently play for some time to come.

The utilization of internal resources requires the forming of a novel attitude toward work, an attitude based on conscious discipline and on awareness of the difficulties inherent in the development of a new economy.

A decisive one can even say, vitally important factor that guarantees the success of the socialist development is the following: To create a situation in which the working people can concretely experience the positive results of the revolution, not only in the moral-political sense with regard to the achievement of human dignity and the respect for the working man, but also in the sense of a palpable improvement of living standards.

The experience gathered by the Soviet Union, its national republics and the other countries of the socialist community in creating the foundations of a new society is of great value for the countries with socialist development. It is well known that fraternal Mongolia arrived at socialism having bypassed the stage of capitalism. The new economic policy (NEP) worked out by the great Lenin brought invaluable experience which shows how a revolutionary regime, which occupies the command centers, can insure the coordination of the interests of the working people in towns and rural areas with the interests of the state and with the interests of building socialism. In following this path there are varied forms of economic management--state-owned, state capitalist, cooperative and private-capitalist--that can be used to rebuild the national economy, carry out industrialization, widely introduce the cooperative form in the countryside and provide the national economy with new technology.

In connection with the significance of the experience gathered by the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, the following must be underscored: This is not a case, nor can it be a case, of blindly imitating certain models. The roads of transition to socialism are varied. The practice of the countries with a socialist development is providing and will continue to provide a lot of new, original things. It is easily understandable that each one among them is bent on finding forms and methods of bringing about transformations that are in keeping with the concrete conditions and the national peculiarities. In conclusion

we would like to stress the following: Nowadays the comprehensive consolidation of the states with a socialist development is of tremendous international importance. The peoples of many countries that have rid themselves of colonialism attentively observe the development of countries that have set out on a path to socialism. They study this experience. Therefore, the choice of a road to future development and the historical destiny of the peoples that have been enslaved in the past, greatly depends on the successful progress of the countries with socialist development.

Comrades, esteemed conference participants, in conclusion and to sum up, let me say this:

First. To guarantee peace and social progress we need the joint action and accord of the forces of socialism, the workers movement in the capitalist countries and the National Liberation Movement. The joining of their efforts is called upon to play eminent role in insuring the security of people and transforming the world in the sense of promoting equality, democracy and justice. The solidarity of the three mainstreams of today's revolutionary process will continue to act as a locomotive of development in the whole world.

Second. In the present international situation the following aspects of these groups' joint struggle must be put in the forefront:

- activities against the increasing danger of a thermonuclear world war, against all attempts to destroy detente, for putting a stop to the armament race;
- opposition against the policy of "neocolonialist revenge," against the imperialist course of dictate and blackmail, against all designs directed against the independence of free states, against their resources and territorial integrity;
- opposition against Beijing's chauvinist course, Beijing conforming to the course of imperialism;
- struggle for a democratic transformation of international economic relations;
- uninterrupted struggle against imperialism's attempts at ideological expansion, against anticommunism and antisovietism, trends that are used to camouflage the aggressive and neocolonialist course.

Third. Just as in the past, even increasingly so, the cooperation between the ruling parties in the socialist fraternal countries, the communist parties of all other countries, the vanguard parties of the countries with socialist development and all the progressive forces of the new states, will be of enormous importance for the solution of the cardinal tasks of worldwide development.

Let the forces of reaction, militarism and neocolonialism rant as much as they want, the cause of freedom and of the people's social progress is invincible! The unity of world socialism, the international workers class and the national liberation forces is the guarantee for the final triumph.

REGIONAL

COOPERATION BETWEEN KAZAKHSTAN, INDIA DESCRIBED

Alma-Ata SOTSIALISTIK QAZAOSTAN in Kazakh 23 Sep 80 p 4

[Article by S. Yesmanov, chief secretary of the Kazakh Committee for Cooperation with the Peoples of Asia and Africa: "Friendship and Cooperation"]

[Text] These days are special for the Soviet and Indian peoples. The traditional Soviet-Indian Friendship Month has just ended. It was held in connection with the thirty-third anniversary of India's independence and the ninth anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation between the USSR and India. The anniversaries mentioned above are good examples in the history of friendly ties and mutual relationships between our two countries with their differing social and economic structures. The conspicuous energy of the Indian people reaffirms the views of J. Nehru on Indian-Soviet relations and the future ties of friendship between the two countries. The unity of views between our two countries has been considerably strengthened and cooperation on significant problems has taken place.

India has achieved great success as a result of the peace-loving policy it has pursued. It has made a significant contribution to the improvement and stabilization of the international situation in Asia and, likewise, in the whole world, as well as to the struggle against imperialism and colonialism. India's strong policy in this area of the international arena has made possible the resolution of major domestic problems through democratic means. At the same time, such a connection between India's foreign and domestic policies has become the basis for a comprehensive national policy. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, first secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, remarking upon the role and authority of India in the international arena, several times, a role and authority that are growing daily, emphasized India's favorable influence upon the peace-loving policies of all Asia.

Recently, in an impressive speech read before a formal assembly commemorating the sixtieth anniversary of the Kazakh SSR and the Kazakhstan Communist Party, L. I. Brezhnev said: "This peace-promoting, realistic policy of India in Asia is playing an excellent role. We are actively working toward mutual friendship and mutually advantageous cooperation with this nation. We wish, with a sincere heart, a peaceful and prosperous life to the great Indian people."

During the years of Indian independence, India's factory output has grown five-fold. Production of electric energy has increased ten-fold, coal production three-fold. It has become possible to create a heavy machinery industry and energy and broadly developed sectors of major national industry. At the present time, India is ranked

as one of the developed nations of the world in terms of its industrial output. Since freedom was gained, agricultural production has been increased two-fold. Half of the national income comes from agricultural productions. Indian achievements in the areas of science, culture, education and public health are conspicuous. Whereas at the time of independence, 9 out of 10 persons could neither read nor write, today 35 percent of India's citizens are literate and the number of students has reached 3 million.

A stable friendship has grown between the Soviet Union and India, based upon strong confidence and mutual aid. These ties were strengthened in 1971 with the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation.

As a result of Soviet economic and technical assistance, more than 70 production facilities and projects have been built or are under construction in India. The "Ariabata" earth satellite, the new India's first satellite, a cosmic symbol of Soviet-Indian friendship, was put into orbit by a Soviet rocket. Moreover, last year a second satellite, "Bhaskara," was launched.

In recent years trade relations between the two countries have also increased. Trade turnover between the USSR and India has grown and the Soviet Union is India's best trading partner in the purchase of Indian export goods.

Economic ties between India and Kazakhstan have also grown stronger from year to year. More than 20 republic factory enterprises produce goods on order for Indian localities. The Kazakhstan specialists who worked on the construction of the Bukhara Metallurgical combine are participating in the construction of a major machine manufacturing plant in the city of Ranchi and are assisting Indian specialists.

Kinship, friendship and cultural ties between Kazakhstan and the Indian state of Kerala have become very close.

The Kazakh Friendship Society and the Kazakh Committee for Cooperation with the Peoples of Asia and Africa have played a major role in the development of friendship ties and direct communications between the two countries. The Indian people have become acquainted with various informational materials and with the successes of the present-day economic and cultural sectors of our republic through delegations from Kazakhstan, traveling groups and other means. Representatives of Kazakh soviet literature and art have been in India. The first of these was M. Āyezōv. Continuing the tradition have been S. Mukhanov, Gh. Mūsirepōv, Ā. Ālīmjanov, O. Sūleymenōv, T. Akhtamov and A. Shamkenov.

The works of more than forty Indian writers and poets, such as Rabindranath Tagore (Abbas Akhmed), (Khodja Vallatkhol) and Boshu Boren), have been published in Kazakhstan.

There is no doubt that the Soviet-Indian Friendship Month has further enhanced and enriched the friendship between our two countries. This friendship will aid building a happy future for the Indian people.

The people of Kazakhstan, with all the Soviet people, rejoice at the successes achieved by the fraternal Indian people and express their sincere wish that, in addition to social progress, new successes will be achieved on the road to peace.

REGIONAL

IBRAGIMOV REVIEWS GROWTH OF AZERBAIJAN ECONOMY

Moscow PLANOVOYE KHOZYAYSTVO in Russian No 9, Sep 80 pp 13-24

[Article by A. Ibragimov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Azerbaijan SSR: "The Growth of the Economy of the Azerbaijan SSR"]

[Text] The July 1980 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee was an outstanding sociopolitical event in the life of the party and Soviet people. It decreed that the next, 26th Congress of the CPSU be convoked on 23 February 1981. The vivid, profound report by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee L. I. Brezhnev and the decisions made by the Plenum are a fighting program of action for the upcoming period, a mighty lever, and an inspiring new stimulus to a further rise in the labor and political activism of the working people and broad development of socialist competition for successful performance of the assignments of the final year of the 10th Five-Year Plan, to celebrate the 26th party congress in a worthy manner.

In April of this year the working people of Azerbaijan celebrated the 60th anniversary of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic and the Communist Party of Azerbaijan. The celebration of this great holiday became a demonstration of the triumph of Lenin's wise nationality policy and the indestructible friendship of the fraternal peoples of the Land of Soviets. During 60 years of Soviet power, thanks to the heroic labor of the workers, kolkhoz members, and labor intelligentsia under the direction of the party and with the fraternal aid of all the peoples of the USSR led by the great Russian people, Azerbaijan has made truly remarkable progress in development of its economy, science, and culture.

The working people of Azerbaijan, consistently following the resolutions of the 25th CPSU Congress and Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee and carrying out the points and conclusions contained in the reports and statements of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet L. I. Brezhnev, having developed broad socialist competition, fulfilled the assignments of the 10th Five-Year Plan for production of industrial and agricultural output

ahead of schedule, in March of this year, just before the 110th anniversary of the birth of V. I. Lenin and the 60th anniversary of the Azerbaijan SSR and Communist Party of the republic. The Azerbaijan SSR was awarded the Order of Lenin for its great successes in economic development and fulfilling its 10th Five-Year Plan assignments ahead of schedule. L. I. Brezhnev sincerely and warmly congratulated the working people of the republic on this outstanding labor triumph. Our working people received the country's award and the sincere congratulations of the head of the Soviet State as an expression of the great trust of the Leninist party and a new manifestation of the constant attention and concern which the CPSU Central Committee, Politburo of the Central Committee, the Soviet Government, and L. I. Brezhnev personally show for Azerbaijan, its cultural and economic development, and the well-being and happiness of the entire Azerbaijan people.

The last decade occupies a special place in the glorious chronicle of Soviet Azerbaijan owing to the scope, comprehensiveness, and pace of socioeconomic development. The years of the Ninth and 10th five-year plans have been the best in its history. They have seen unprecedentedly high and stable rates of development in all sectors of the economy, a steady increase in the production of industrial and agricultural output year after year, fulfillment and overfulfillment of plans and socialist obligations, and significant improvement in quality indicators for all sectors of the economy. During this time national income has doubled, industrial production rose 2.2 times, and gross agricultural output increased 2.1 times. In 10 years 15 billion rubles was invested in the Azerbaijan economy, more than had been invested in the 20 years preceding. The road to these achievements was not easy. At the start of the Ninth Five-Year Plan there was a serious lag in the development and location of production forces. Failure to fulfill plan assignments in the republic led to a situation where the volume of industrial production in 1970 for the country as a whole was almost 12 times greater than in 1940, but in Azerbaijan it was just 5.5 times greater. The severe lag in the republic's socioeconomic development was graphically demonstrated by indicators of national income, volume of industrial production, and others in comparison with the corresponding USSR average figures.

L. I. Brezhnev pointed out significant problems in the economy and the low rate of growth in industrial production and development of agriculture in Azerbaijan. Decisions that were important for the economy of our republic were made at his personal initiative; they envisioned higher rates of development of industrial and agricultural production.

The serious lag in development of the republic's productive forces was reviewed and analyzed in a principled party manner at the 28th Congress of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan and the plenums of its Central Committee. Major steps were outlined to eliminate these shortcomings and concrete ways were defined to achieve accelerated development of productive forces.

As a result of the purposeful organizational and party political work of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan and the heroic efforts of the working class, kolkhoz peasants, and people's intelligentsia, the long-standing economic backwardness of the republic was overcome during the Ninth Five-Year Plan and a sharp upswing was achieved in all of its sectors. The Ninth Five-Year Plan was the turning point in the development of the Azerbaijan economy.

One of the crucial conditions that predetermined our achievements was the large amount of purposeful work done by the republic party organization to bolster the political and organizational activity of party, Soviet, and economic bodies, improve the style and methods of economic management, and mobilize all working people for successful fulfillment of the historic resolutions of the 25th CPSU Congress. The healthy moral-political atmosphere in the republic favors the formation of an activist posture by working people and brings out their creative initiative, which aims at fulfilling party and government assignments ahead of time.

L. I. Brezhnev gave a telling description of the achievements of the republic in September 1978 when awarding the Order of Lenin to the city of Baku: "The situation has plainly improved. This is the result of purposeful organizational, political, and ideological indoctrination work by the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party and the party organization of the republic, the result of the active labor of the entire people of Azerbaijan. It is a result of normalization of the atmosphere, an improvement in the moral-psychological climate, which quickly made itself felt in the results of economic activity. Azerbaijan is on the move!"¹

The successes of our republic have been fairly evaluated by the CPSU Central Committee and Soviet Government. The Azerbaijan SSR has been a victor in all-Union socialist competition and received the challenge Red Banner of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU, and All-Union Leninist Komsomol Central Committee 10 years in a row.

The people of Azerbaijan are deeply grateful to the CPSU Central Committee, Politburo of the Central Committee, Soviet Government, and General Secretary of the Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet L. I. Brezhnev personally for the enormous aid and constant attention they have given us.

The current phase of development of the Azerbaijan economy is seeing profound qualitative and quantitative changes in the development of productive forces and sectorial structure of public production, a steady

¹PRAVDA 23 September 1978.

increase in economic potential, and an acceleration of social progress on this basis. In the 10th Five-Year Plan the Azerbaijan economy faced the challenge of consolidating progress achieved earlier and insuring stable, dynamic, and proportional development of public production and improvement in the efficiency and quality of all work.

Beginning from the program decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party developed and is consistently implementing a program of political, economic, and organizational steps aimed at a fundamental improvement in the structure of public production, an increase in its efficiency, fuller use of reserves, and a further rise in the level of public well-being.

The Azerbaijan SSR was the first Union republic to fulfill its assignments in the 10th Five-Year Plan for volume of industrial production. It did so ahead of schedule. As we conclude the 10th Five-Year Plan it can be said confidently that the assignments in the areas of economic and social development of the republic will be considerably surpassed. Taking account of the level of planned fulfillment expected in 1980 the production of industrial output during the five years will increase 47 percent as compared to 39 percent in the assignment and the average annual growth rate will be eight percent compared to 6.8 in the plan. Moreover, the weight of each percentage point of growth in volume of output is 50 percent greater than in the Ninth Five-Year Plan.

The five-year assignment for growth in volume of industrial production was fulfilled ahead of schedule primarily because we surpassed the planned annual growth rate each year. In the first four years we were eight percent ahead in fulfilling the plan for growth in volume of industrial production and it took 2.5 months in 1980 to complete the entire assignment of the 10th Five-Year Plan.

A distinctive feature of industrial development in the last decade has been intensive improvement in its structure with faster development of the progressive sectors, which makes it possible to insure that unemployed labor resources are drawn into public production and to step up the rate of scientific-technical progress.

The share of the sectors that support scientific-technical progress within the total volume of industrial production in 1980 will reach 28.7 percent as compared to 24.7 percent in 1975.

Machine building plays an important part in securing rapid rates of technical progress and raising the efficiency of public production. In the current five-year plan machine building and metalworking have developed especially fast. Their share in the total volume of industrial production rose from 11 percent in 1970 to 16.9 percent in 1979.

Whereas the average annual growth rate of production for all industrial output in 1971-1975 was 8.4 percent, in machine building and metalworking it was 11.4 percent, and in the first four years of the 10th Five-Year Plan the corresponding figures were 8.1 and 13.7 percent. Moreover, within the sectors a policy is consistently followed of accelerating the development of non-metal-intensive subsectors that require the use of highly skilled labor: electrical equipment, instrument-making, and radio electronics.

The basic increase in industrial output in the 10th Five-Year Plan (26.8 percent) will be obtained precisely by increasing the volume of production in machine building and metalworking; to a decisive degree this growth results from raising labor productivity and the shift coefficient of equipment, improving the use of production capacities, and accelerating the rate of technical re-equipping of enterprises.

The republic's fuel-energy complex, which is represented by petroleum and gas extraction, petroleum refining, and electric power, continued to develop in the Ninth Five-Year Plan. But the growth of production volume in these sectors was slight and during the first four years of the 10th Five-Year Plan their share in total volume of industrial output dropped. In the petroleum and gas extraction industry efforts have been directed primarily to reducing the decline in petroleum extraction and increasing extraction by opening up new deposits. Petroleum extraction has stabilized in recent years, while gas extraction has steadily increased.

The basic reconstruction of Baku plants that was begun in the Ninth Five-Year Plan has continued in the petroleum refining industry. A powerful ELOU-AVT [electric desalination unit-atmospheric-vacuum pipe still] installation has been introduced at the Novobakinskiy oil refinery and launching work is underway on a large catalytic reforming installation whose introduction will make it possible to increase the production of high-octane gasoline several times. In connection with the processing of imported sulfur-containing oil primary attention has been directed to deepening the refining process, increasing the takeoff of light oil products, and improving their quality.

In the 10th Five-Year Plan the rate of development of the power industry and production of electricity fell behind the steadily increasing needs of the economy. Whereas consumption of electricity has increased 60 percent in the last 10 years, production has risen only 40 percent. The disproportion between demand for electricity and available generating capacities arose because of underdevelopment of the republic's energy base in the Ninth and 10th five-year plans; work to establish this base should have begun in the Eighth Five-Year Plan. As a result, the overcurrent from the combined energy system of the Transcaucasus will be 2 billion kilowatt-hours in 1980. The fall and winter of 1979-80 demonstrated the negative impact that the absence of adequate energy

capacities in the Azerbaijan power system can have on the republic economy. To eliminate this deficit as quickly as possible the large Azerbaijan GRES (State Regional Power Plant) with the capacity of 1,200 kilowatts and Shankhorskaya hydroelectric plant with a capacity of 380,000 kilowatts are being built at an accelerated rate. Their introduction will make it possible to satisfy the electricity requirement of our economy during the 11th Five-Year Plan with our own output.

In metallurgical industry ferrous metallurgy received preferential development during the 10th Five-Year Plan. Its volume of industrial production will increase 2.2 times in comparison with 1975. The Kirovabad Aluminum Plant developed intensively. It introduced new capacities for processing bauxite and producing sulfuric acid. The production of secondary aluminum, rolled nonferrous metals, and consumer goods is broadening in this sector.

The Azerbaijan Pipe Rolling Plant (near V. I. Lenin) is undergoing technical re-equipping and reconstruction to increase pipe production for the oil industry and improve pipe quality. The volume of production of output in ferrous metallurgy will rise nine percent during the 10th Five-Year Plan and there will be significant increases in production of threaded casing, pump-compressor, and drilling pipe.

The chemical and petrochemical industry is developing at an accelerated pace. Its share of total industrial production in the republic will rise from 8.2 percent in 1975 to 8.6 percent in 1980. In the first four years of the five-year plan the chemical industry developed at a higher average annual rate (13.9 percent) within the sector. Production capacities were increased for producing key types of chemical output at the enterprises of the Khimprom Production Association, synthetic rubber plants, the superphosphate and synthetic detergents plants in Sumgait, and the fiberglass and industrial rubber plants in Mingechaur. Replacement of fixed capital and technical-re-equipping of production in this sector have promoted a rise in labor productivity and increase in the output-capital ratio. The production of gross output per ruble of fixed production capital will rise 11.6 percent in the current five-year plan and the average annual rate of growth in labor productivity will be about nine percent. The largest part of the growth in production volume will be obtained through intensive factors.

The sectors that produce consumer goods have developed at an accelerated rate in the 10th Five-Year Plan. During the last two five-year plans the group B sectors have developed more rapidly. During the 10th Five-Year Plan the average annual growth rate of the group B sectors has been 10.1 percent as compared to 8.7 percent in the Ninth Five-Year Plan; during the current five-year plan the volume of output in these sectors as a whole will increase 62.2 percent as compared to 58.4 percent in the assignment.

Light industry has continued to develop on the basis of a broad program of technical re-equipping of existing enterprises. More than 53 percent of the volume of capital investment went for replacement of the active part of the fixed production capital of existing enterprises. Such major enterprises as the Baku Textile Combine (named V. I. Lenin), the dyeing-finishing facility at the Shebekino Silk Combine, and the Kirovabad Carpet-Cloth Combine have undergone reconstruction. In addition to reconstruction and technical re-equipping of existing enterprises a primary wool processing plant in Yevlakh, a knitted goods factory in Sumgait, and a volumetric yarn factory in Sumgait have been put into operation.

As a result of the significant achievements in development of republic agriculture the raw material base of the food industry has been significantly strengthened. The sectors that process agricultural raw material — the winemaking, tea, fruit and vegetable, butter and cheese, and milk sectors — have developed at an accelerated rate. In the first four years of the five-year plan 20 large new enterprises, butter-cheese and milk plants with capacities of 160 tons of whole milk output a shift, and 14 primary winemaking plants were built and put into operation and 26 existing enterprises were expanded and rebuilt.

During the past years of the 10th Five-Year Plan the production of consumer goods has increased as follows: cotton, woolen, and silk fabrics — 20-30 percent; carpets and carpet goods — 100 percent; refrigerators — 170 percent; home air conditioners — 250 percent; confectionary goods — 40 percent; mineral water — 60 percent; cultural-domestic and everyday household goods — 150 percent.

Thanks to the high rate of development of light and food industry, more than half of the absolute growth of industrial output in the republic in the 10th Five-Year Plan will be achieved through the growth in production volume in these sectors.

Therefore, the bulk of growth in industrial output in the 10th Five-Year Plan will be achieved by high rates of development in these sectors: machine building and metalworking, chemistry and petrochemistry, food and light industry.

Introduction of scientific-technical advances, comprehensive intensification, and raising the efficiency of production have been the leading factors in development of the republic economy during the Ninth and 10th five-year plans.

Following the line set out by the 25th party congress and the challenges posed by L. I. Brezhnev during his visit to Baku, the republic is working hard and purposefully to continue improving the quality of output produced.

During the 10th Five-Year Plan the volume of production of articles with the Mark of Quality has increased 12.4 times and their share of the total volume of industrial output has risen to 15.3 percent compared to 1.3 percent in 1975.

There is no question that a great deal has been done in this direction, but much more remains to be done. At many enterprises the percentage of output bearing the Mark of Quality is still low and articles are still produced that do not meet contemporary requirements. But the campaign for quality of output has become a crucial part of the activity of enterprises and planning and economic bodies in the republic. The challenge today is to raise the proportion of high-quality output to at least 17 percent in 1980.

In the first four years of the 10th Five-Year Plan labor productivity in industry rose 21 percent. More than two-thirds of the growth in industrial output was received through this one factor. To produce 1 million rubles of output today takes the labor of 46 persons as compared to 59 in 1975. In other words, the savings of human labor per each million rubles is 13 persons, which for all production is 113,000 persons.

It was possible to accelerate the growth rate of labor productivity thanks to technical improvements in production, the use of more progressive technological processes, replacement of wornout and obsolete equipment, the considerable work done at enterprises on production organization and technology, and the automation and mechanization of production. Steps have been developed and are being carried out to continue increasing this indicator of production efficiency. Based on work results for the first part of the current year, more than 80 percent of the growth in industrial output will be received from raising labor productivity.

The powerful, modern scientific-technical potential created in the republic has been an important factor in the swift development of productive forces. The scientific establishments, headed by the Academy of Sciences Azerbaijan SSR, employ 21,700 persons; they are successfully engaged in pure and applied research and solving major problems related to the development of productive forces.

The scientists of Azerbaijan, together with the employees of industrial enterprises and organizations, are making an important contribution to accelerating scientific-technical progress and resolving the social and economic problems of economic development. In the current five-year plan alone 361 new types of machinery, equipment, and instruments have been created and the production of 4,395 types of industrial output has been incorporated. On 1 July 1979 enterprises of the republic had 1,760 mechanized flow and automatic lines and 985 sections, shops, and chemical installations were fully mechanized and automated. The

republic economy has 27 computer centers and 30 automated control systems. Vigorous pursuit of work on the introduction of new machinery and progressive technology helped raise labor productivity. Almost one-fifth of the growth in industrial output and more than one-third of profit in 1975 came from this factor.

Increasing the capital-labor ratio and the return from each ruble of fixed capital are important factors in raising labor productivity. During the 10th Five-Year Plan industrial production fixed capital increased 24.9 percent and the output-capital ratio rose 6.4 percent. The use of fixed capital at enterprises of ferrous metallurgy, machine building, and the chemical and petrochemical industry improved significantly. At the same time, however, there has been a tendency since the start of the five-year plan for the output-capital ratio to decline in the power industry, petroleum and gas extraction, oil refining, lumber and wood processing, and ferrous metallurgy. This has been caused by a drop in electricity production and petroleum extraction and incomplete loading of capacities because of lack of raw material and the need to carry out reconstruction and modernization of equipment. Considering that complete and timely incorporation of projected capacities and optimal use of existing production capital is the determining condition for raising the output-capital ratio in industry, the work of ministry, department, and enterprise executives of the republic is directed to rapidly eliminating shortcomings and sharply improving these indicators.

One of the principal factors that promotes increase in the efficiency of public production is conservation of material expenditures. This presupposes above all a decrease in the material-intensiveness of output and efficient, thrifty use of materials and fuel-energy resources. Material production expenditures per ruble of gross social product in the current five-year plan have decreased 0.3 percent compared to the Ninth Five-Year Plan. On a republic scale this means a savings of 33 million rubles of materials compared to 1975.

During the current five-year plan our enterprises have conserved 665 million kilowatt-hours of electricity, 1,075,000 gigacalories of thermal energy, and 53,000 tons of standard boiler-furnace fuel. In 1979 alone the use of rolled metal products was cut 5,300 tons in comparison with established norms. Almost half of the savings was the result of introduction of steps towards improvement in industrial processes and designs and improving the weight characteristics of machinery and equipment being produced.

At the same time, an analysis of report figures shows that not all enterprises are working adequately toward economical use of materials and reducing the material-intensiveness of output. There are large quantities of waste ferrous metals, especially at machine building enterprises. If we consider that as the size of the economy grows the

value of conserving materials also grows (in 1975 a one percent decrease in material expenditures was worth 69 million rubles; in 1979 the figure was 90 million), it is clear that a paramount challenge for the collectives of all enterprises should be eliminating shortcomings in the use of materials and fuel-energy resources, intensifying work on economy and thrift, and reducing the material-intensiveness of output by every means.

One of the chief conditions that insured stable and dynamic development of industrial production and fulfillment of the assignments of the 10th Five-Year Plan ahead of schedule was the sharp rise of agriculture and creation of a solid raw material base for industry as a result. The party organization of Azerbaijan, following the party agrarian policy worked out by the March 1965 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the decisions of the July 1978 Plenum, relying on the daily assistance of the party and government, and undertaking a broad campaign of organizational and political work, was to overcome agricultural backwardness in a short time and turn the sector around.

The measures taken in Azerbaijan toward further intensification of agricultural production played a decisive role in significantly increasing the production of agricultural products on the basis of intensification and furthering specialization and concentration of production.

In the last decade the rural workers of Azerbaijan have made unprecedented progress in the production and procurement of all types of agricultural products. Compared with 1969, grain production in 1979 increased 2.1 times, cotton 2.5 times, grapes 3.8 times, and vegetables 2.4 times.

1979 was a record year. Particularly high indicators were: 742,300 tons of raw cotton produced, 1,044,900 tons of grapes, 881,000 tons of vegetables and 55,100 tons of tobacco.

The republic reached the plan level for the final year of the 10th Five-Year Plan for gross production of agricultural output in 1978, two years ahead of schedule. The growth rate of average annual volume of gross agricultural output in the last four years has been 40 percent over 1971-1975, compared to a planned figure of 21 percent for the entire 10th five-year plan.

Overfulfillment of socialist obligations for all types of crop farming and animal husbandry output each year made it possible to fulfill five-year plan assignments for sale to the state of grain, vegetables, and fruits in four years; for the other types of output these assignments will be significantly surpassed this year.

The great increase in production and procurement of all types of agricultural products in the last decade has resulted primarily from intensive factors: a steady increase in the yield of the crops. The

average annual yield in the last decade surpassed the yield for the preceding 10 years by 60 percent for grain and raw cotton, 100 percent for tobacco, 50 percent for vegetables, 80 percent for grapes, and 90 percent for green tea leaves.

During the Ninth and 10th five-year plans capital investment for the development of agriculture increased 2.4 times. This capital was used chiefly for technical re-equipping of agricultural production, construction of production and water management facilities, and reclamation and irrigation work. The production capital of agricultural enterprises today is 2.4 times greater than the 1960 level. It is gratifying to observe that the share of the active part of fixed capital is steadily increasing. This is the value of the machinery and equipment which play the leading role in intensification of production and switching it to an industrial footing.

The process of chemicalization, one of the determining factors in intensification of agricultural production and raising its efficiency, is accelerating. Each year agriculture received more than 1 million tons of mineral fertilizer and Azerbaijan farmers now apply 2.5 times more fertilizer per hectare of arable land than they did 10 years ago. In recent years mechanized storage facilities for 270,000 tons of mineral fertilizer have been built to receive, store, and distribute fertilizer; interrayon supply depots for chemicals and agrochemical laboratories for scientifically sound use of fertilizers have been established.

Major steps have been taken to develop irrigation farming and the volume of capital investment used for water management construction has increased. In the last decade the Teterchay, Khanbulanchay, Arpachay, and other water management complexes have been put into operation; the total capacity of republic reservoirs has risen to almost 20 billion cubic meters and the number of pumping plants and length of irrigation networks has increased. All this made it possible to introduce 83,000 hectares of new irrigated land into agricultural use and improve the condition of the soil on an area of 310,000 hectares.

An important prerequisite for rapid development of all sectors of agricultural production was further intensification and deepening specialization and concentration of production based on interfarm cooperation and agroindustrial integration. The high level of concentration is illustrated by the fact that market grain and raw cotton is produced today in four of the 10 natural economic zones of the republic, grapes are produced in five, tobacco and fruit in two, and green tea leaves in one zone. Interfarm cooperation and agroindustrial complexes have developed significantly. The number of interfarm enterprises, organizations, and associations has increased 50 percent since 1970. In 1970 there were 146 such organizations, including 76 animal husbandry associations and poultry factories and farms. We must note the efficiency of the work of interfarm associations; their net income

increased 3.6 times in the first four years of the current five-year plan compared to 1975.

The Azerbaijan SSR has formed a successfully operating State Committee for Grape Growing and Winemaking whose enterprises produce 92 percent of the grapes in the republic. The republic's share of total grape production in the country is now 17 percent compared to 6.5 percent in 1969. The volume of production from the winemaking industry has risen 4.1 times in the last decade and accounted for one-seventh of all industrial production. During these years 34 new primary winemaking plants have been launched, existing enterprises and winemaking points have been expanded and rebuilt, and the capacities of the winemaking industry are now adequate to handle 1,080,000 tons of grapes.

Formation of the Azplodoovoshchprom [Azerbaijan Fruit and Vegetable Industry] Agroindustrial Association made it possible to concentrate 89.2 percent of vegetable production, 75.7 percent of fruit production, and 97.7 percent of green tea leaf production at sovkhozes subordinate to the association. This association supplies more than 300,000 tons of early vegetables to the USSR market each year. The role of integrated enterprises in social division of labor, increasing the volume and efficiency of agricultural production, and solving the problems of socioeconomic development of the Azerbaijan countryside is increasing rapidly.

The successes we have achieved show convincingly that the agrarian sector of the Azerbaijan economy is well established in developed socialism. A scientifically sound long-range program for continued development of agriculture and the entire Azerbaijan economy has been developed and is being carried out to solve a whole range of social problems and improve the well-being of the working people.

The agricultural workers of Azerbaijan see their key challenge as continuing to improve the structure of planted areas, accelerating the development of grape growing and winemaking, raising grape production to 2.5-3 million tons in 1990, increasing the volume of production of grain, raw cotton, and vegetables, developing intensive orchard farming and animal husbandry, and improving the quality of products produced. At the same time attention will continue to be focused on the problems of raising the yield of agricultural crops and the productivity of livestock and poultry.

The November 1979 Plenum of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party defined the most pressing problems of republic agriculture and ways to solve them. In the field of cotton growing the principal challenges are continuing to improve plant breeding for seed production, strengthening protection of the cotton plant against diseases and pests, and speeding up the cotton harvest by broader and more efficient use of machinery. The decisive conditions for

successful development of grain farming are maximum intensification and raising yield. Measures have been planned for further development of the production of vegetables, melons, potatoes, fruits, tea leaves, and tobacco.

The development of animal husbandry is a subject of special concern to party, Soviet, and economic bodies in the republic. The efforts of animal husbandry workers are directed to increasing the size of the livestock herd, improving breeding work, creating a stable feed base, increasing the weight of livestock and poultry and their productivity, and accelerating the transition of this sector to a modern industrial footing.

The creation of powerful economic potential in Azerbaijan has been linked significantly with certain changes in the area of capital construction, accelerating the introduction of production capacities and installations, and improving the quality of construction work.

In the first four years of the 10th Five-Year Plan the volume of capital investment within republic territory increased 41.4 percent over the corresponding period of the Ninth Five-Year Plan. The increased potential of the construction industry, improvements in the organization of construction work, and strengthening its material-technical base promoted a steady increase in the volume of fixed capital being introduced, which increased 47.4 percent compared to 1971-1974. The rate of introduction of capacities exceeded the rate of incorporation of capital investment, making it possible to reduce the construction time of projects and the relative volume of incomplete construction, although this indicator still exceeds established standards.

Forty-eight large industrial enterprises, many new shops and installations at expanded and rebuilt enterprises, and large animal husbandry complexes and poultry factories have been built and put into operation.

Housing and cultural-domestic construction has been done on a large scale. Many nonproduction installations have been put into use, which has been an important factor in accelerating the rate of social progress.

At the same time, serious problems in capital construction in the republic have not been solved: the scattering of material resources and labor, unsatisfactory labor organization, low labor productivity, and unsatisfactory use of construction machinery and equipment.

The steps now being taken in conformity with the 12 July 1970 decree of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers entitled "Improving Planning and Strengthening the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Raising Production Efficiency and Work Quality" will help improve matters in capital construction, accelerate the introduction of production capacities and facilities, and raise the efficiency of capital investment.

A great deal has been done in the republic in recent years to develop transportation. The material-technical base has been strengthened and the freight traffic of all types of transportation has been increased. But the accelerated pace of socioeconomic development demands further improvements in the work of transportation, especially the railroads, which are not fully meeting the increased needs of the economy. Comprehensive steps have now been developed to eliminate problems in the work of railroad transportation. In particular, construction of a large marshalling yard is finishing up: when it is put into operation the strain on the railroads will be somewhat alleviated. In addition, second tracks are being laid and carloading areas expanded. All the ministries, departments, and enterprises of the republic are working to eliminate the tight spots in railroad transportation as quickly as possible.

Serious attention is being given to development of motor vehicle transportation and improving the operating and economic indicators of its work. During the Ninth and 10th five-year plans the freight and passenger traffic of general-purpose motor vehicle transportation almost doubled. At the present time 95 percent of all passengers are carried by motor vehicle transportation.

The volume of road building increases every year, especially in the rural areas, but the condition of the roads still cannot be considered satisfactory. Therefore, road organizations and local Soviets are taking steps to find additional resources for expanding this work and improving the condition of local roads. This will involve enlisting the capital of kolkhozes and interfarm associations.

The Caspian Steamship Line and civil aviation are making an important contribution to carrying economic freight and passengers. Local air routes developed intensively during the Ninth and 10th five-year plans and aviation is finding increasing application in work on chemicalization of agriculture.

In the first four years of the 10th Five-Year Plan communications equipment and television received further development. The number of communications enterprises increased, the capacity of city telephone exchanges was enlarged, and the installation of rural telephone systems was completed. A total of 584 kilometers of new radio relay lines were built, existing lines were redesigned, and four powerful television transmitters were put into operation. As a result, 97 percent of the population can now receive television broadcasts, 70 percent in color, and by the end of the current five-year plan virtually every inhabitant of the republic will have this opportunity.

The confident and dynamic growth of Azerbaijan's economic potential has created a sound foundation for consistent implementation of the social program outlined by the 25th party congress. On the basis of growth in public production measures have been taken to improve the

standard of living of the people of Azerbaijan. The average annual consumption fund of national income and real per capita income in 1980 will increase 19.5 percent compared to 1975.

The increase in wages for working people was an important factor in the growth of real income. The average monthly wages of workers and employees rose 13.4 percent during the 10th Five-Year Plan and by the end of the plan will increase 17.2 percent; wage payment to kolkhoz members will rise 28.7 percent. Credits have been increased and benefits from public consumption funds are now used more extensively. All this has had a positive impact on the purchasing power of the population and is reflected in the growth of trade and use of domestic services. The volume of retail trade per capita will increase 19 percent during the 10th Five-Year Plan, while the use of domestic services will rise 51.9 percent, including 83 percent in rural areas.

A major program has been carried out to improve housing conditions and cultural-domestic service to the population. Suffice it to say that in the last decade almost one-third of the inhabitants of the republic have improved their housing conditions. The network of schools and children's preschool institutions has been expanded. Azerbaijan, like the entire country, has made the transition to universal secondary education. Medical service has improved, the material-technical base of public health is stronger, and a network of sanitariums and rest homes is being developed. We now have about 20,000 doctors, 32 doctors per 10,000 population. This is more than in many highly developed capitalist countries. The cultural level of the population has risen significantly. In Azerbaijan today more than 80 percent of the employed population has higher and secondary (complete and incomplete) education, and half of the population is involved in some kind of education. In just the first four years of the 10th Five-Year Plan our schools graduated more than 149,000 specialists with higher and secondary education while the vocational-technical schools graduated more than 200,000 skilled workers.

Successful implementation of the program to involve our growing labor resources in public production has been an important social achievement of the 10th Five-Year Plan. During the first four years of the 10th Five-Year Plan the number of workers and employees engaged in the republic economy rose 16.4 percent, and for the five years it will increase 20.2 percent compared to an assignment of 11.7 percent.

The socialist culture of the people of Azerbaijan, which is developing in close interrelationship with the culture of all the Soviet peoples, has risen to new heights.

We are at the threshold of the 11th Five-Year Plan and intensive work is now underway to develop the primary directions of economic and social development in Azerbaijan. The challenges of further development of public production and consistently following the line of raising the efficiency and quality of work were set forth in

L. I. Brezhnev's speech at the November 1979 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. "In order to consistently raise the well-being of the people," L. I. Brezhnev pointed out, "it is necessary to put the party policy of raising efficiency and quality into effect with redoubled vigor; there is no alternative to this policy and it must be followed consistently in the 11th Five-Year Plan."²

In the upcoming five-year plan the Azerbaijan economy faces the challenge of reinforcing past achievements and insuring further development on the basis of improvements in the structure of public production and balanced, proportional growth of the entire economy. The 11th Five-Year Plan will be an important stage in solving the problems of building communism. The mighty economic potential created in the republic in recent years and the creative enthusiasm and working attitude of the working masses are a reliable guarantee of this.

The current year, the last year of the 10th Five-Year Plan is a year of active preparation for the 26th CPSU Congress. We have no doubt that the working people of Azerbaijan, like all Soviet people, will do everything possible to celebrate this outstanding event in the life of the party and people with great new achievements.

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²Brezhnev, L. I., "Rech' na Plenum Tsentral'nogo Komiteta KPSS 27 Noyabrva 1979 Goda" [Speech at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU on 27 November 1979], Moscow, Politizdat, pp 21-22.

REGIONAL

ROLE OF NEW BELORUSSIAN IDEOLOGICAL COMMISSIONS EXPLAINED

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Oct 80 p 2

[Article by S. Pavlov, chief of the Department of Propaganda and Agitation, Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belorussia: "Joining Forces"]

[Text] A combined approach to ideological work -- and since the 25th CPSU Congress it has become more and more firmly established in many of the work forces of this republic -- has helped better elucidate both the strong and weak aspects and elements of the education and indoctrination process. In particular, the following has been discovered. Today even a medium-size work force contains 20 or 30, and a large work force sometimes as many as 100 public organizations and various toiler entities engaged in education and indoctrination work. As a rule they carry out many measures, but they many times fail to achieve the requisite indoctrinational result.

What is the problem? As it turns out, indoctrinators frequently "hit" at different points, displaying activeness sometimes in one, sometimes in another, and sometimes in still another sector of the multifaceted activities of the work force, but they fail to achieve purposeful, effective influence on the various groups of people.

It is obvious that in such cases the party committee should do a better job of performing its functions of organizer and coordinator. But to achieve this it needs a reliable mechanism which would foster coordination of all the "driving belts" of the ideological indoctrination process.

Party committee ideological commissions have become such agencies. These commissions are assigned, pursuant to the CPSU Central Committee decree entitled "On Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Indoctrination Work," coordination of ideological indoctrination activities among labor forces and at places of residence, the search for new forms and methods of education and indoctrination, and verification of execution of decisions.

On the basis of the experience of ideological commissions established under the auspices of party city and rayon committees, as well as under the party committees of more than 550 large primary party organizations in this republic, we have become convinced that they indeed possess considerable potential. Staffed by the most experienced activists and organizers from various sectors of the economy, these commissions help party committees in a practical way to ensure comprehensiveness and at the same time purposefulness of education and indoctrination and to bring it

into the broad sphere of people's labor-production, sociopolitical and cultural-cognitive activities, activities which, as we know, actively form and shape the individual character and personality.

Indicative in this respect is the following example. When a discussion arose several years ago at an expanded meeting of the party committee of the Minsk Tractor Plant on preparation for transition to production of a new model of the Belarus' tractor, the party committee's ideological commission was named among the first implementers of the idea. At first this seemed strange to many people. Why was primary emphasis not placed on designers and industrial engineers but rather on ideological activists? The party committee saw things differently. Changeover to production of the new model was being performed under extremely difficult conditions -- without halting production, without reducing production of old-model tractors, without worsening product quality, etc. All this of course demanded precision coordination and extreme mobilization of the work force.

The ideological commission, which is headed by deputy party committee secretary L. Vasil'kova, carefully calculated and analyzed the enterprise's reserve potential. The party-political training and economics education sector (headed by political education office chief Ya. Gushcha), utilizing its "facilities" (and they are quite substantial -- in operation at the plant are 448 political and economics schools and seminars, 170 Communist labor schools, and six people's universities), provided a detailed elaboration at classes of the political and socioeconomic aspects of the changeover to production of the new model. It is characteristic that during this period more than 20,000 tractor plant workers improved their job skill level.

The worker production-labor activeness development sector (headed by trade union plant committee deputy chairman K. Kasperovich), with the assistance of more than 2000 activists working in the plant committee commissions, the permanent production conference, youth teacher councils, foremen and young specialists, outlined and implemented an entire program of measures pertaining to adoption of advanced know-how.

Other sectors of the ideological commission also worked hard: cultural-educational work; patriotic and internationalist indoctrination; development of physical culture and sports; preventive-indoctrination work. In short, all socioeconomic and technical-production mechanisms were brought into action. And the result is in evidence. The tractor plant has, so to speak, shifted over while on the march to production of new equipment, while at the same time improving all the qualitative characteristics of its operations, without yielding top position in the All-Union Socialist Competition, in which it has emerged victorious for 48 quarters in a row.

Practical experience has proven many times that the effectiveness of socioeconomic, administrative and other factors operating in the collective become appreciably weaker if they are not supplemented by factors of ideological-moral and spiritual influence on people. Therefore the ideological commission is opposing certain attempts to assign to political indoctrination work a secondary role in the system of management of the work force.

Taking these considerations into account, in the course of implementation of the principles and demands contained in the CPSU Central Committee decree entitled "On Work on Selection and Indoctrination of Ideological Cadres in the Belorussian Party

Organization," this republic's party committees initiated a genuine search for a more effective organizational structure of management of the indoctrinational process, especially at the grass-roots level. Thus a comprehensive system of ideological indoctrination work in the labor force was established at many enterprises in Minsk, Mogilev, Gomel', and other cities in this republic. Citing the tractor builders as an example, I have already shown the role played by ideological commissions in this work.

Sometimes people ask: is such a system not excessively complex? But the indoctrination process in the collective is no simple business. In addition, the commission numerically takes away nothing and adds nothing to the sum total of indoctrination manpower and resources. It merely gathers them under a common "roof" and provides operational coordination.

This republic's party committees, organizing the work of their ideological commissions, caution them against becoming excessively cluttered with various additional new components. Excessive elements merely hinder precision performance. At one time the ideological commission of the Oktyabr'skiy Rayon Party Committee in the city of Mogilev pursued the course of scattering its manpower and setting up special groups for planning and coordination of ideological work and for study and adoption of know-how in ideological work. One might ask why they are needed if the commission as a whole is supposed to be doing this? In our opinion those party committees which become carried away with establishing, in addition to an ideological commission, all kinds of headquarters, councils, and groups, while being unable to work with them on a continuous and effective basis, are also doing the wrong thing.

While preserving the independence and specific features of the work done by public organizations and entities, the ideological commissions have been able to enlist all elements of the work force into the ideological-indoctrination process, based on principles of interaction and mutual complementation. The role of supervisors as indoctrinators has become particularly enhanced. At the Minsk Computer Equipment Production Association, for example, two of five ideological commission sectors are headed by top-level executives -- deputy general directors S. Kovalev and R. Malakhovskiy, while the other three are headed by administrators of the trade union plant committee. More than 50 leading specialists and worker-innovators lead volunteer ideological units or are members of various councils.

With the aid of ideological commissions, party committees have been able more systematically and effectively to influence the entire moral-political situation in work forces. Unified political days and practical conferences at enterprises on concrete problems of indoctrination have come into being everywhere, in large measure due to the commission. And perhaps the most important thing is that the ideological commissions have helped expand the framework of ideological-political and moral indoctrination, bringing it into people's daily lives and leisure time.

Many educational measures had also been carried out in the past in the residential microrayon of the Mogilev chemical workers (Khimvolokno Production Association imeni V. I. Lenin). But they did not always coincide with the interests and free time of the residents. The microrayon ideological commission (in this republic these commissions are attached to principal party organizations) deliberated on how to improve the efficiency of indoctrinational measures. A special study was conducted with the assistance of sociologists. It turned out that in the microrayon the party committee has a great many voluntary helpers -- three patronaged schools,

two children's rooms, a Palace of Culture, agitation sites, Lenin rooms, educational corners, Yu. A. Gagarin and O. Yu. Shmidt museums in dormitories, a young technicians station, etc.

The commission drew up a list of all these "facilities" and studied their capabilities, work schedule, and requests by the public. There were established in the microrayon 17 amateur clubs in specific areas of interest: "Youth," "Contemporary," "Future Serviceman," etc. Group recreation days entitled "Take the Entire Family to the Palace of Culture" are held on a frequent basis, and street festivals and youth evenings have become traditional events....

Experience indicates that the greatest success is achieved by those commissions the activities of which are planned with precision, and a calendar of future events. Guided by the plans of their party committees, for example, the commissions of the Minsk, Mogilev, Novopolotsk, Pinsk and other party city committees ensure coordination of indoctrinational measures conducted by primary party organizations, Soviet, trade union, Komsomol and economic agencies, voluntary societies and artistic associations.

Planning the work of the ideological commission is an important element in its activities. We believe that an incorrect practice is being followed by those party commissions, in Brestskaya Oblast in particular, which reassign to their ideological commissions the business of receiving reports from economic executives and party organization secretaries, grading their performance and making decisions. This is a case of exceeding the commission's authority and clear assumption of functions of the party committee. Those party committees which reduce the functions of their commissions to one-time examinations of the performance of various organizations are also acting incorrectly.

The ideological commission is an analytical agency, which thoroughly studies various processes and phenomena of societal affairs, which elaborates and submits interesting considerations, recommendations and suggestions for the examination and consideration of the party committee. In order to ensure such an orientation to the activities of the commissions, we concentrate around them sociological teams, public opinion analysis teams, etc.

In addition, in our opinion suggestions that a special statute be drawn up, on the basis of best experience, on ideological commissions, which would put an end to the confusion in determining their tasks and functions, are well-founded. The commissions should contain more scientists, genuine experts in party propaganda and agitation, as well as officials from party committee branch departments. Particularly since the CPSU Central Committee decree on ideological work placed special emphasis on their growing role and responsibility for ideological-political work in production collectives and for the indoctrinational consequences of economic activity.

In the course of preparation for the 26th CPSU Congress, at report-election party meetings and conferences the Communists of this republic are carefully analyzing the activities of ideological commissions and elucidating shortcomings, weak points, and instances of a lip-service attitude toward their work. We shall do everything to ensure that our ideological commissions even more actively assist party committees in improving education and indoctrination activities in cities, towns and rayons, in work forces and at the place of residence of our toilers.

REGIONAL

ATTACK ON LITHUANIAN HELSINKI GROUP MEMBERS

Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian 27 Sep 80 pp 2-3

[Article by Dana Jusyte and Algirdas Vaičius, entitled "From the Courtroom" and "They Black-marketed Pastries, Now Convictions"]

[Text] This is not the first time that Antanas Terleckas of Vilnius, formerly a leader for the Filming Preparations Department of the Lithuanian Film Studio, is in the dock. In 1972, forgetting his university education, A. Terleckas found, it seemed to him, a "cozier" niche--a pastry bakery which belonged to the first district kitchen of the Vilnius schools. At first he worked as manager of the bakery. Having become the storekeeper, he immediately began to act. No, not to improve the work of the bakery--the administrators of the school disciplined him more than once for poor-quality goods and unsanitary conditions. He was interested in something else. Abusing his position, he organized a group of criminals with whom, forgetting his conscience, he stole state property; he also cheated customers--he shortchanged them and black-marketed the products of the bakery. A. Terleckas stole kopeks as well as hundreds of rubles.

To create the conditions for plundering state property, A. Terleckas gave instructions to use margarine instead of butter. In addition, he stole pastries and cakes baked in the shop and, with his accomplices, sold them in the snack bars of various schools in the city. Thus he shamelessly profited at the expense of schoolchildren.

He got what he deserved. But did that affect A. Terleckas? Hardly. Returning from the place of his imprisonment, he changes colors. Unsuccessful at black-marketing cakes and rolls, he tries to black-market convictions. Especially since there is someone to whom to sell all that--true, not in Lithuania, but abroad.

Lately, the nationalist press abroad, famous above all for slander and fabrications about the reality of Soviet life, as well as broadcasts of the radio stations (Liberty, Vatican Radio, Voice of America and other similar ones) which have transmitted scandalous lies more than once, have been shouting hysterically about some sort of "wronged, persecuted prisoners of conscience" and so on, who are allegedly in difficult straits in Soviet Lithuania. What won't they think of during such campaigns! Airplane hijackers and murderers are easily transformed into "national heroes"; hardened hoodlums and recidivous thieves are crowned with "fighters" wreaths, idlers and other scapegraces become "defenders of human

rights." And people who are at liberty, according to these radio ravens, have long since been "suffering in prisons." By the bye, this was discussed more fully in this year's August 6 issue of Tiesa, in an article entitled "Whom Do the Diversionists of the Ether (Waves) Serve?"

These are well-known methods, constantly used by imperialist circles and the nationalistic splinter groups, conveniently at hand, who found shelter in the shadow of the dollar. Besides, far from being a defense of these alleged martyrs, it is more a matter of whitewashing their own tarnished reputations. And most important--it's a profitable and, of course, purely materialistic, business. The appetite of the "liberators" is made amply clear even by the following request, which appeared in their press: "All Lithuanians of good will (without exception!) donate at least one day's earnings annually to support and finance activities directed toward liberating Lithuania."

"To give to the suffering unfortunates!" shout such defenders, while they run posthaste to the bank with dollars wheedled from the credulous, to supplement their personal accounts.

Time passes. Increasingly more Lithuanians abroad begin to think soberly and refuse to support the political speculation of the various organizations. The dollars fall sparsely. This is a knife at the throat of the "liberators", who, wanting to continue profiting, have to prove that they are at least allegedly doing something. Precisely for this, it seems, people like A. Terleckas can be useful.

Now A. Terleckas is in the dock. His hands shake, his voice trembles. He even cries like a small child. He attempts to extricate himself in various ways. But the logic of the facts is strong. If you commit an offense, you answer for it according to the law.

A. Terleckas did not just suddenly find himself in the dock. Many times institutions of justice spoke with him, warned him to stop spreading slander and fabrications, and give up his criminal activities. But A. Terleckas' innate speculator's nature went its own way. Promising to start down a righteous road, with one hand he wrote that "I will evaluate my previous unsuitable actions and render a reckoning," while with the other hand he nonetheless fabricated, typed and distributed various slanderous libels directed against upright Soviet citizens, institutions and organizations, and against the Soviet system in general.

As if that were not enough, A. Terleckas attempts to acquire the trust of young people just beginning their lives, who are therefore inexperienced. He succeeds in drawing Julius Sasnauskas of Vilnius into his criminal activity, who, having obtained a typewriter, inspired and instructed by A. Terleckas, also fabricated, typed and distributed, both alone and with his "teacher", slanderous fabrications with which they hopelessly attempted to weaken the Soviet system.

Now Julius Sasnauskas is also in the dock.

Even before his trial J. Sasnauskas writes a plea for clemency, which he ends in these words:

It is difficult for me to condemn all my actions unconditionally, because they, as I have already mentioned, were inspired by various motives. Opinions are formed over a number of years and they do not fall apart in a few months. However, at the present time I am experiencing disillusionment with my activities and first and foremost it is myself I condemn for having chosen the wrong way. Of course, there is much to be sorry for. But I want to look only to the future and think how to correct the mistakes that were made and to begin a new life."

Thus the commerce in ideas in which A. Terleckas and others like him participate has serious consequences. Indeed, the misguided ways of J. Sasnauskas can be a good lesson for young people in general.

A. Terleckas, having recruited J. Sasnauskas, attempts to begin a campaign of slanderous canards, adding the names of tens of others under his scribblings. Then the radio stations and insignificant nationalist newspapers of the West will undoubtedly breathe a sigh of relief--instead of just Terleckas, with whom they are bored, they will be able to say: "forty-five signatures."

The desires of A. Terleckas and J. Sasnauskas to cover their slanderous activities with the mantle of the majority were completely unmasked in court. Here is what some people whose names were appended to various appeals, letters and articles written by A. Terleckas and J. Sasnauskas have said. We will quote testimony about just one such scribbling, which was addressed to the governments of certain European nations as well as to the United Nations.

Napoleonas Norkūnas, pastor of Reikūtinai parish, Švenčionys rayon:

"In September of 1979, an unknown person came to my rectory. He introduced himself: 'Terleckas.' He handed me a document typed in Russian, addressed to the governments of various countries as well as to the United Nations, and said that he wanted my approval and signature. I refused to read the document. Then he himself quickly began to read it. Having listened for a while, I interrupted the reading and announced that I would not sign a document of such content. Then he said that priests are cowards and left. Now, having examined the document, I see my own first name and surname typed among others at the end of the text. As I have mentioned, I did not sign it and did not give permission to type my name at the end of the document in lieu of a signature. And even now I would not sign a document of such content."

Rimantas Mažukna, lathe operator of the "Pergale" ship works union, Kaunas:

"I have just been shown a letter addressed to the governments of various nations and to the United Nations. At the end I see my own first name and surname. This is the first time I've seen this piece of writing and I have never signed it. In addition, I never gave anybody permission to append my name to a letter of such content. And even if someone suggested I sign such a letter, I would not do so, because the assertions it makes are untrue and slanderous."

Edmundas Bartuška, a Kaunas non-departmental safety signal assembler:

"For some reason my name appears at the end of this letter. This is the first time I've seen such a letter. I did not sign it. I did not give permission to use my name here and I would not give such permission, because there are many distorted and untrue assertions. I do not understand the behavior of individuals who type the names of innocent people at the conclusion of slander they have fabricated with their own hands."

"Having examined the documents handed to me, I see that my name appears at the end of most of them, but I state that these documents were not signed by me and are unknown to me," declared Bronislovas Laurinavičius, pastor of Adutiškis church in Švenčionys rayon.

The slanderers were also denounced by Kęstutis Povilaitis, motor mechanic for the Kaunas construction trust; Onutė Povilaitytė, waitress of the Vilija cafe in Kaunas; Stanislava Andriejauskienė, cleaning woman at the F. Dzeržinskis loom factory in Kaunas, and Antanas Andriejauskas, a driver at the same plant; and other witnesses whose names were added without their knowledge to the slanderous scribbles which were fabricated, copied or distributed by the defendants.

At the trial, at least in the beginning, both of the defendants attempted to depict themselves as "fighters for human rights." According to them, one of those allegedly oppressed in the republic is "the active defender of human rights" Balys Gajauskas.

What kind of a person is he?

In the post-war years, Balys Gajauskas chose the slippery path of a criminal--he organized and headed a gang of robbers. With this group, he roamed the cities of the republic, which were then rising from ruins, and robbed random citizens.

Later, sensing that police officials were on his trail and practically stepping on his heels, B. Gajauskas looks around for trustworthy "friends." The members of a nationalist group are glad to receive an experienced robber into their midst. A sudden metamorphosis occurs. The former violent criminal becomes a fighter for "freedom and independence." Hiding like a bat in the basements of a certain Kaunas fort, he surfaced at night and pasted leaflets in dark gateways and on toilet cubicle doors, in which he threatened with death and terrorized the creators of the new order: exemplary workers, Communist Youth members, intellectuals who dedicated themselves to the people, Soviet activists. At that time Balys Gajauskas capped his "liberating" activities with a terrorist act in Šiauliai, where he shot dead one person who recognized him as a bandit right in the street, and seriously wounded another who rushed to help.

The defendants also used up much ink and paper praising to the skies the alleged achievements "in defending human rights" of another criminal offender--Viktoras Petkus, former sacristan of the church of [St.] Mikalojus (Nicholas) in Vilnius.

The true face of V. Petkus is entirely different. After the war, he participates in anti-Soviet activity. For this he was tried. Later he got a job at the Folk Art Society of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic. He was in charge of finances. With his help, one financial machination followed another. The swindlers, protected by V. Petkus, simply plundered the treasury of the society.

Finally, V. Petkus himself pocketed large sums of money every month. For financial violations and negligence at work, V. Petkus was discharged from his job and dismissed from the society. His career in the world of art ended shamefully.

Then V. Petkus feels the need to be closer to God, the church, and, undoubtedly, its cash-box. But by no means does he look for penitence there. The church is simply a screen for him. He begins drinking with underage schoolboys and corrupting them. In a trial two years ago it was proven that V. Petkus, being a homosexual, corrupted young men. Thus from plundering public wealth and open dissipation to hypocritical morality and spreading anti-Soviet propaganda--that is the true face of V. Petkus.

Both of the defendants doubtlessly knew all this. However, not being selective, and, besides, not having much choice, and wanting to get into the good graces of reactionary organizations abroad which are supported by secret services, they fabricated and distributed various scribblings praising B. Gajauskas and V. Petkus.

PHOTOCOPIES FROM THE CRIMINAL CASE:

"Will evaluate my previous unsuitable actions and render a reckoning.

Terleckas"

Vilnius

August 26, 1977

The conclusion of A. Terleckas' promise.

"It is difficult for me to condemn all my actions unconditionally, because they, as I have already mentioned, were inspired by various motives. Opinions are formed over a number of years and they do not fall apart in a few months. However, at the present time I am experiencing disillusionment with my activities and first and foremost it is myself I condemn for having chosen the wrong way. Of course, there is much to be sorry for. But I want to look only to the future and think how to correct the mistakes that were made and to begin a new life.

Thus I request that I be granted this possibility.

Julius Sasnauskas"

Vilnius, February 21, 1980

The conclusion of J. Sasnauskas' plea for clemency.

As if that were not enough, they give slanderous information they themselves made up to foreign journalists visiting Vilnius. These journalists, who earlier had already fabricated various anti-Soviet canards, soon found much in common to talk about with A. Terleckas and J. Sasnauskas. There is nothing surprising about that, because the ones sell anti-Soviet canards, while the others are eager to buy them. The fact that they are shortchanging truth in this mutually beneficial arrangement does not matter to them. Both those gentlemen and the present defendants are concerned with something else--they want to weaken the Soviet system, blacken our country and us ourselves.

As the trial draws to an end, driven into a corner by the numerous witnesses, facts and documents, the two defendants finally say they understand that they erred and acted in a criminal fashion.

"During the trial and before it, I thought a great deal and understood that I am guilty," says defendant A. Terleckas in his closing statement. "Taking my large family into consideration, I request leniency. I am determined never to participate in this kind of activity again."

"Formerly I did a great deal of searching and thinking and wanted [to find] the truth. Now I have understood that I strayed the wrong way. I promise to be an upright Soviet citizen in the future," declared defendant J. Sasnauskas in his closing statement.

Now the defendants repent, but the crime is committed. Our country has laws which no one is allowed to break.

The Soviet court is humane. Taking into consideration the fact that A. Terleckas and J. Sasnauskas understood their errors and publicly denounced their criminal activity, the court found it possible to lighten their sentence. A. Terleckas was sentenced to three years' imprisonment and five years of internal exile. J. Sasnauskas--one and a half years of imprisonment and five years of exile.

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POSSIBILITY FOR DEVELOPMENT OF MUSLIM SEPARATISM VIEWED

Athens I KATHIMERINI in Greek 5 Oct 80 p 15

[Article by F. Tsaloglou]

[Text] With a higher birth rate than the Russians, with an already developed cultural level and with a fanatic adherence to their religious creed, the Muslims are now demanding representation in all the "posts" of the governmental hierarchy.

On the occasion of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the resistance of the Afghans to the occupation forces, a great many conjectures were formulated about the influence which this treatment of Muslim populations is likely to have had on the Muslim populations which live in the USSR. The question had arisen somewhat earlier, as an objective inquiry by sovietologists everywhere with the establishment in Iran of the Islamic Republic, of the repercussions which this Republic may have had on the Shiites and Sunnis residing in the Soviet Union. With the Iran-Iraq war, the question of what the attitude of Moscow would possibly be vis-a-vis the belligerents has now returned to prominence as an object of investigation, given the fact of the presence in the USSR of a large number of Muslims.

Most commentaries on this matter have come to the assumption that Moscow must be very cautious in its diplomatic maneuverings with respect to Islam if it is to avoid finding itself at some moment in the very unpleasant position of being obliged to confront with armed force secessionist movements--from the USSR--on the part of its Muslim nationalities. The possibility of such a development was made credible by the fact that movements of national liberation are being developed in the neighboring countries by the Kurds and the Azeris (the inhabitants of Azerbaijan). This assumption is completely mistaken. Consequently, it is advisable to restore a picture which has more accurate features. This will help to more correctly evaluate the factors which make up the Soviet attitude toward the Muslim states and toward their internal or inner-Islamic vicissitudes.

The Muslim populations which live in Central Asia and in Transcaucasia are estimated (1979) to number 45-48 million, in a total USSR population of 262 million. The birth rate of these populations is higher than that of other nationalities, including that of the Russian population. In 1913, the number of Muslims who were living in these same areas came to 15.2 million. For the year 2000, when the population of the USSR will reach an estimated 312 million, the Muslims will number about 80 million. These figures mean that the Muslims

(within the boundaries of the present USSR) have represented: In 1913, 8 percent of the total population, and in 1979 17.5 percent. And in the year 2000 they will represent 25.6 percent.

Of course, this very important demographic change is not solely the result of the excess of births among those faithful to Mohammed. There are many other reasons as well. The most important one is the policy which the Soviet regime has followed with respect to the national minorities which make up the USSR.

This policy has been dictated not only by the socialist principle of non-exploitation of the populations of the "periphery." It has also been dictated by the aspiration toward the progressive assimilation of all the inhabitants of the Soviet Union, regardless of different languages, religions, culture, and so forth, to the new type of citizen--the one who will be shaped by the effects of the objective influences of the new status quo. The Soviet citizen.

The Equal Treatment of the Nationalities

For the success of this chief goal, the method of equality with respect to all the nationalities was followed. Equality in what concerns the same economic development for the various areas, but also concerning the freedom of their inhabitants to safeguard their particular cultural elements, starting from the preservation of their language as an official language--along with Russian, of course. Problems have arisen from the principle as applied to religion. It was not a question of the persecution of faiths on behalf of that religion (the Christian) believed in by Russia, the most powerful sector of the USSR's population, with 135 million inhabitants (52 percent of the total). It was a question of an official prohibition against performing religious functions. A prohibition which was in effect for all religions, since they were the "opium of the people," and since religious differences could have a subversive effect on the formation of the "Soviet" citizen.

There is no similarity up to this point to that which has happened and continues to happen in all the other religious or national minorities in the neighboring Islamic states. There, oppression has been the method which was chosen to "safeguard" the national unity: That of the shah's Iran as well as that of the mullahs', that of the Turkey of the sultans or of Kemal. For example, since the time when the territories of Kurdistan (230,000 square kilometers) were annexed to Turkey--that is, some 60 years ago--the only progress which has been noted on behalf of their inhabitants has been the number of officially executed or assassinated Kurds! Both in Turkey and in Iran or Iraq, the only opportunity for the oppressed minorities to exist and to develop is for them to break away from the government dominations which rule over them, and to re-establish their national or even just their administrative autonomy. Not only has this sort of demand not been formulated, but nothing betokens its formulation, by the Muslims of the USSR.

But the method of establishing equality for the creation of conditions congenial to the gradual freeing of the USSR populations from their various particularities had an unforeseen consequence. The advancement of the standard of living of the

underdeveloped areas--which unquestionably included those of Central Asia and the Caucasus--the universal education of the population, the generation of professionals by local universities, and finally their population expansion made it possible for these people to "remember" their cultural foundations, for nationalism to awaken within them. A nationalism which was not limited to "folkloric" manifestations, as the party would have liked.

A nationalism which was not able to "mix" with the cultures of the other nationalities, and above all the Russian nationality. Which did not lead any longer towards the formation of the "Soviet citizen," but on the contrary encouraged the preservation of the kind of person who had a specific historical origin.

Religion helped, unquestionably, in the above processes, playing along with language the role of the most powerful cohesive bond for retaining in the consciousness of the citizens their national identity. Almost all the males of the Turkish-Muslim national groups are circumcised. Their religious leadership has also taken care to keep "alive" many religious observances, such as fasting and daily prayer. They have conducted themselves with a great deal of cleverness in trying to consolidate in the consciousness of the faithful the imperative need to fulfill their religious obligations, without violating openly the relevant prohibitions and the obstacles which have been placed by the party and political authority. Since it was not permissible, for example, for the workers to leave their jobs for daily prayer, the religious leaders decided that one could pray without interrupting his work!

The development of their nationalist awareness on the part of the Muslim populations (as well as, moreover, on the part of other national minorities in the USSR), without its awakening the slightest disposition toward secessions from the "Soviet homeland," gave birth to a different demand. It is precisely this demand which can create certain problems in the future, both in the domestic functioning and in the foreign relations of the USSR. The Muslim populations, whose average family income is not less than that of Russian families; whose extent of urbanization does not fall significantly short of that among the more advanced sections of the rest of the population; whose number of graduates from advanced schools is also not smaller than the general average number; and whose demographic importance shows an upward development are demanding equal participation in all the organs of the USSR's party, administrative, and military apparatus. They will no longer tolerate the absolute primacy of the Russians! They are not intending to stop being citizens of the Soviet Union. But they refuse to be "second class" citizens!

National and Soviet Governments

They have justice in their objection and in their claim. According to official Soviet data collected by the French writer (Helene Carrer d'Ancos) in her wonderful book with the title "The Fragmented Empire" (Flammarion Publications, 1978), Russians are to be found in the leadership of the party, government, and military, and even at the head of the communist parties of the Soviet republics, which are the "local" branches of the Soviet Communist Party. There are very few officers of other nationalities, and they are in "posts" which are without decisive importance. In the sector of foreign policy above all,

the initiative for operations belongs exclusively to Russians. But this is not equality! And when in Article 72 of the new Constitution of the USSR it is stipulated that: "Within the jurisdiction of the...supreme organs of governmental authority and administration" are all decisions on critical issues, then this inequality is self-evident, since all the supreme organs are staffed by Russians.

Moscow has tried to counteract this demand for equality in the decision-making process of the Soviet Union, as well as the refusal to abandon the features of the "national" person in favor of those of the "Soviet" person, by inducing the minority populations to embrace the patterns of the Russian culture. Since it was not possible, for reasons which the Marxist writings had not foreseen, for the objective conditions alone to shape the awareness of the "new type" of citizen, then all should accept as a model the cultural pattern of the Russian citizen. And around this model the new identity of the Soviet person was to be "built." The Russian was the citizen with the most dazzling history--the parent, at bottom, of the Soviet regime. Why should not the others resemble him?

The effort made in this direction explains the sensational turning of the Soviet leadership from the utter condemnation of the czarist, imperialist, and repressive past to the extolling of the "feats" of the Russian people in all ages and in all sectors. Even those of the forcible annexation of the non-Russian nationalities! After all, these "feats" constituted a historical "vested interest" also for all the other Soviet peoples. A way had to be found to argue that even though equality among the Soviet socialist republics, the autonomous republics, the autonomous regions, and so forth is incontestable and unchangeable, still the Russian Socialist Republic has an equality which is historically magnified!

From the cinematic hymnology of the work on Ivan the Terrible up to the recent article by the painter (Ilia Glazounov), which was published a few days ago in PRAVDA and in which the principles of the art of socialist realism are defended against modern, foreign-derived art, there is an insistent and untiring campaign of persuasion that the history which the USSR is writing is nothing else than the continuation, "refined by the revolution," of the history of Russia!

A vain effort, it seems. The most powerful cultural minority of the Soviet Union, its Muslim populations, are making their national characteristics very manifest, instead of losing them as time passes. And the expanded consciousness of the national individuality no longer is tolerant of exclusions in the inner circles of the multinational homeland.

This is the new element which the 60 years of the Soviet status quo have brought and which the Russian occupants of the Kremlin cannot ignore. Should they destroy it with violence? Unthinkable. Should they satisfy its demand for equal participation in public affairs? The wisest course, and therefore also the most probable. But such a change at the top level of the Soviet party and governmental leadership and deliberations will introduce an entirely new factor in their considerations of the problems of Soviet foreign policy, especially those problems connected with the Islamic peoples. And these "disorders" will be the only very likely ones for the perceptible future which can reasonably be expected to result in domestic life and with respect to the "unity" of the USSR from the existence of so many millions of Muslims in its territory. Nothing else.

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